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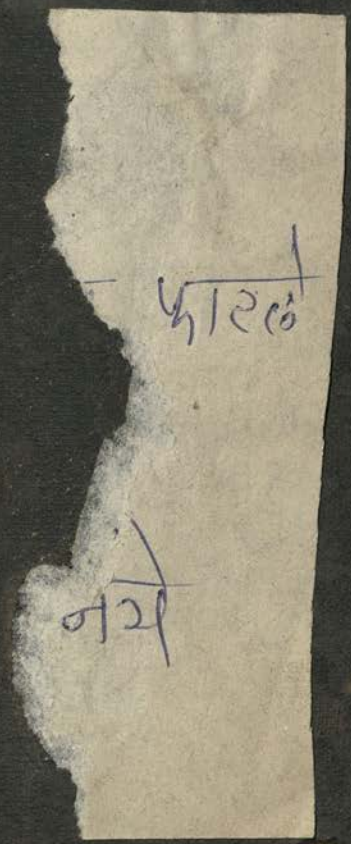

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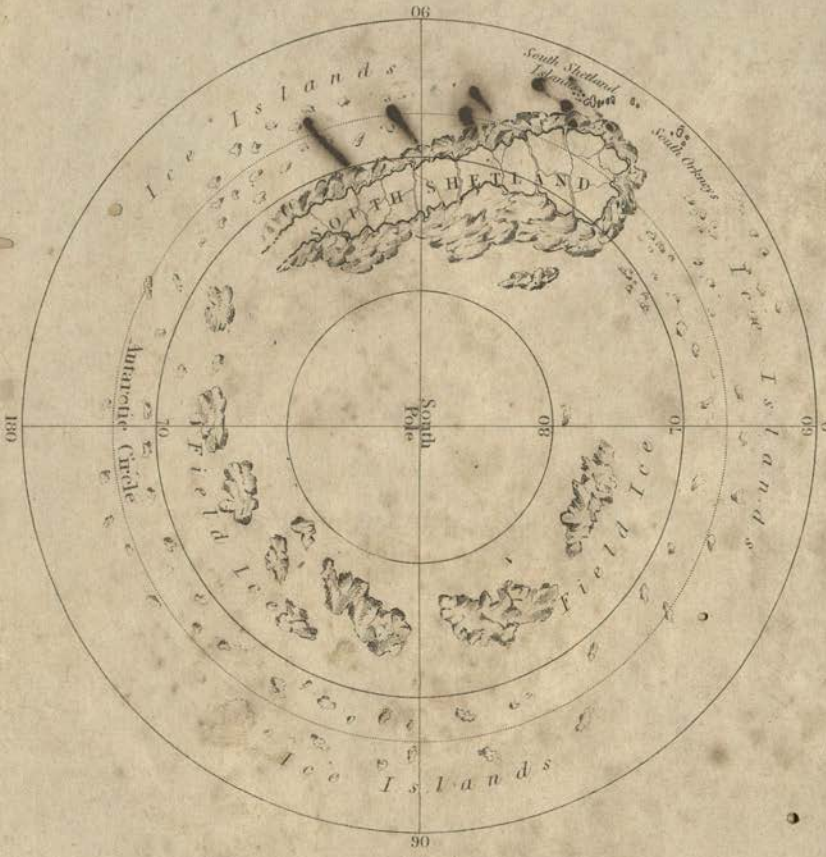
Fig. 1.



Sidl. Hall Sculp.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE PROBABILITY OF REACHING

THE SOUTH POLE.

27852

BY

JAMES WEDDELL, Esq.

MASTER IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

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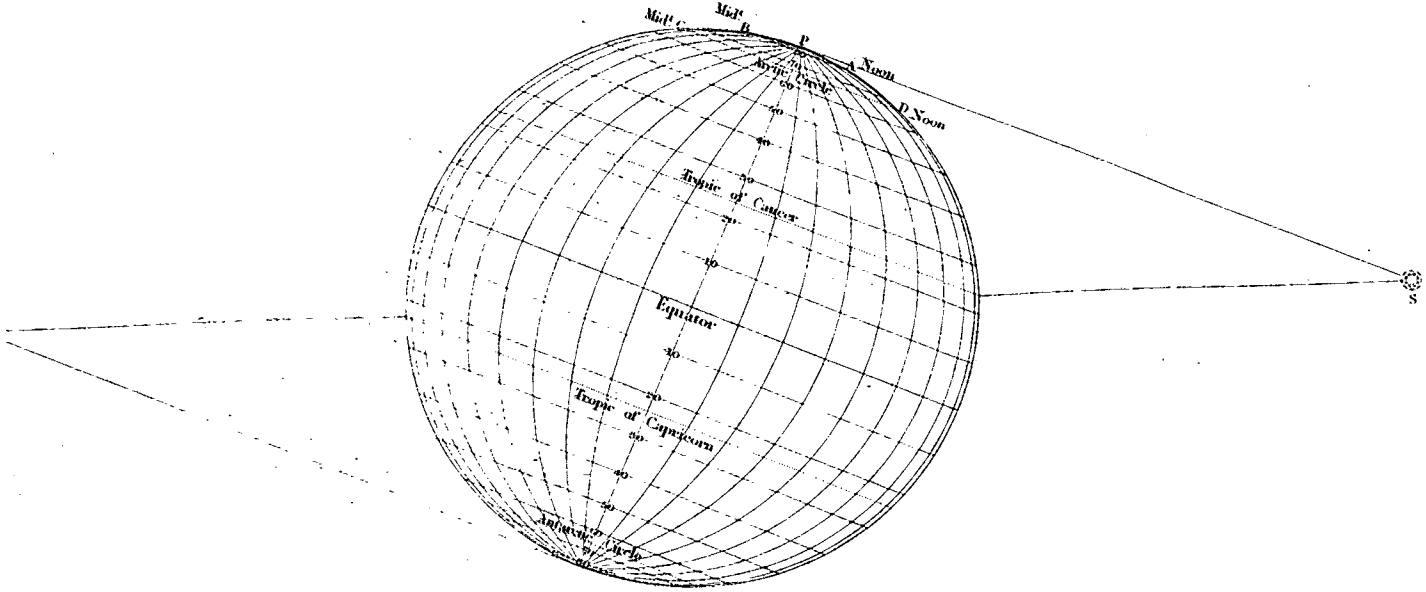
ADVERTISEMENT.

THE late meritorious expeditions, sent out by our Government to explore the northern parts of the globe, having excited much public interest; and the late voyage performed by me towards the South Pole, having attracted considerable attention; are the circumstances which have induced me to publish the following sheets, containing my opinions on the probable state of the Polar Regions.

JAMES WEDDELL, R. N.

Fig. 2.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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

STATE OF THE POLES.

In presenting to the public the following considerations, relating to the probability of the Polar Regions being open, I must necessarily use the data upon which both the early and late expeditions towards the North Pole have been projected, as these must continue to be the principal grounds of reasoning till the matter shall be set at rest by actual observation.

Many arguments have been employed to prove the open state of the Polar Regions, since experimental investigations have been effected, not only by Great Britain, but by several other nations, during more than two centuries.

The numerous unsuccessful attempts which have been made to penetrate the Northern Polar Region, do not by any means destroy the assumption of the poles being accessible, but rather furnish new matter for further enquiry into that part of geography. And the open state of the Antarctic Sea, as described in my Journal, naturally gives rise to new conjecture, in regard to the southern extremity of the globe.

The natural action of the sun, arising from his particular situation in the heavens, and his continuance above the horizon, as relates to the poles, I am aware is understood by those whose attention has been directed to the temperature of the extremities of the globe; but by persons generally, the subject is, perhaps, not clearly comprehended. To them an illustration of the movements of the sun, as regards the Polar Regions, may be acceptable; and the subject follows in connection with the supposition I have set forth in my Journal; namely, the prospect of reaching the *South Pole*.

The probability of a temperate Polar Region depends not wholly upon the presence of the sun, but greatly on the properties of matter at and about the poles. The questions which arise from this latter consideration are, do the Polar Regions contain water only, or land only, or

both; and if the latter, what is the quality of the land, and what is its proximity to the poles? Any one of these peculiar states will, notwithstanding the constant and uniform action of the sun during summer, produce a corresponding change of atmospheric temperature.

There are only two states of the Polar Regions which seem to afford a hope of their being accessible. The first, and most flattering supposition, is that of the extremities of the globe being clear of land, and having a clear expanse of ocean, reaching from about the 83° of latitude, some degrees towards the Equator; and the other state is that of having land immediately about the poles, consisting of matter, capable of retaining through the winter part of the caloric absorbed during summer.

As we know of no land nearer to the South Pole than 20½ degrees of latitude, or 1230 miles, and as I have ascertained that within 855 miles there is neither field, ice, nor land, the supposition that the South Pole may be covered with an expanse of water is at least probable.

The great obliquity of the sun's rays in those regions may be brought forward as an argument for their insufficiency to produce a temperate atmosphere; but their effects at and immediately about the poles have never, to our knowledge,

been witnessed. The point of 81° 50′ appears to have been the highest northern latitude attained, of which we have an undoubted account. Consequently, a nearly stationary altitude, such as would be experienced at the poles, has never been observed; and hence, the analogy afforded by the sun's motion round the horizon in this latitude, is weak and unsatisfactory.

Professor Mayer of Gottingen gives a *formula**, by which the temperature of any latitude may be readily computed; and were the extremities of the globe unaccompanied with local peculiarities, the calculation would be uniformly true. But the rocky and mountainous lands, lying in high latitudes, produce a temperature much below that indicated by the formula. This seems to be the case in each hemisphere respectively; and about the latitude of 60° the two hemispheres themselves differ from each other very materially. The sun being about seven days longer on the *north* side of the

* Let t denote the mean temperature of any parallel of which the latitude is L, m the mean temperature in the latitude of 45°; $m + e$ the mean temperature at the Equator; then is $t = m + e$ cosine 2 L; whence the mean temperature is readily ascertained. The mean temperature in latitude 45° is 58 $= m$. At the Equator it is 85°, whence $85 - 58 = 27 = e$; therefore, $t = 58 + 27$ cosine 2 L, which, when 2 L is greater than 90°, the cosine being negative, is less than 58.

Equator than on the *south*, may be assigned as one reason for this difference of temperature; but, as he is about $\frac{1}{32}$ part of his mean distance nearer the earth on the 1st of *January* than on the 1st of *July*, it is evident that he must be nearer the earth from the 23d of *September* to the 20th of *March*, than from the 20th of *March* to the 23d of *September*; and therefore upon calculation it will be found, that this latter circumstance will more than counterbalance the effect produced by his longer continuance on the north side of the Equator.

Captain Scoresby found the mean annual temperature of the latitude of 78° to be 16° below the estimate by calculation; and in the latitude of 61° south, 17° nearer to the Equator, I found by observation the mean temperature of the month of *January* to be nearly 35° of Fahrenheit. The mean temperature of the year in that latitude, by the formula of Professor Mayer, is 44° 5′.* We have not observations sufficient to obtain the real annual temperature of the latitude of 61°; but it must of course be much lower than that of *January*, and must consequently exhibit a great deviation from the result by calculation.

* Professor Leslie, in his notes to his Elements of Geometry, (p. 461, 4th edit.) calculates the mean temperature of latitude 61° to be 44° 3′

This circumstance of remarkable frigidity in a latitude, which in the northern hemisphere is so temperate, strikingly exhibits the great effects caused by the barren land of the Archipelago of New South Shetland. In proceeding southwards, this deviation of observed temperature from the result by calculation greatly diminishes; so that in the latitude of 74° the formula approaches much nearer the truth. At the summer solstice this parallel will probably be much warmer than that of 61°; and we may suppose, that in winter the cold of these respective latitudes will not materially differ. The little change which I found in the temperature, through a southern route of 13 degrees, as mentioned in the Journal of my voyage, is remarkable, and accords with the observation made by Professor Leslie*, in his calculations of the temperature of the earth at different latitudes.

On the 8th of *February* the influence of the sun's rays must be very different at the poles from what it is in the latitude of 80°; for on that day the sun passes round the South Pole,

* "Very little increase of heat is therefore observed, in advancing through the torrid zone to the Equator; and the intensity of the cold would not be sensibly augmented in penetrating from the Artic Circle to the Pole. The existence of an open sea towards the extreme north is hence not improbable." — Supplement, 3d vol. to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

at the altitude of 15°, whilst in the latitude of 80° his altitude is diminished to 5°; at which height it can produce but little effect on the surface of the earth. The meridian altitude on the above day (at 80°) is 25° 13′; but the time of his being above the altitude of 15° is only about half what it is at the pole on that day. In short, it is only from the constant and uniform action of the sun at those low altitudes that an extraordinary degree of heat can be expected.

In bringing this subject as clearly to view as possible, some observations on the movements of the sun in our own latitude, compared with those about the poles, may be necessary by way of illustration. When the sun is in the first degree of the sign Cancer, on our longest day, (the 21st of *June*,) the meridian altitude at Greenwich is 61° 59′. When in the sign Capricorn, (the 21st of *December*,) on our shortest day, the meridian altitude is 15° 3′; the mean meridian altitude is, therefore, 38° 30′. The longest space of time during which the sun is above the horizon in this latitude, (namely) on the 21st of *June*, is 16^h 34′. The shortest space, (namely) on the 21st of *December*, is 7^h 44′; hence the mean day or time that the sun is above the horizon in the latitude of Greenwich is 12^h 9′. The temperature of this

climate is, therefore, the result of a meridian altitude of 38° 31′, with the sun visible nearly twelve hours out of twenty-four. At the poles the presence of the sun is of the same duration in the course of a year as at all other points of the globe, but at different periods, and at different altitudes above the horizon, according to the latitude.

At the South Pole (the north being subject to the same law at the opposite season), from the 3d of *November* till the 8th of *February* (more than three months), the sun never descends below 15 degrees; which is the meridian altitude of that body for several days of our winter, when it is only for the space of 7^h 44′ above the horizon. This continuance of the sun's presence for more than three months at the pole, is a most important circumstance; and when we consider the warmth of an unclouded winter sun, when on the meridian, or at noon, our curiosity is excited as to what his effects must be where the action of the rays is constant for so long a time as above mentioned.

The little warmth which we receive from the sun, when under 5 degrees, is evident to every one who has paid the least attention to the subject.

The extent of atmosphere through which the rays have to pass, on account of their obliquity, so refract and resist them, that they fall but

faintly on the surface of the globe; but, at the altitude of 15°, the rays of the sun pass through so diminished an extent of atmosphere, that at its mean density the refraction is reduced from 9′ 54″ to 3′ 34″, and the calorific effect at 5° is computed by Professor Leslie to be only ·004; but, at the altitude of 15°, it is increased to ·084. The caloric transmitted from the sun to the earth must, therefore, increase above the altitude of 5° to 15° in a very compounded ratio.

The action of the sun on the Polar Regions must be even more powerful than is here mentioned, for during three months (from the 3d of *November* to the 8th of *February*) the sun is considerably above the altitude of 15° at the South Pole. From the 22d of *November* till the 20th of *January* (two months) of that time, the sun is never below 20°; and from the 11th of *December* to the 1st of *January*, never below 23°; being on the 21st of *December* 23° 28′, and for several days before and after that time about the same altitude.

The continuance of the sun above the horizon of the poles for these periods, and at so considerable altitudes, cannot fail to persuade us, that the ices there must be annually dissolved, and the Polar Regions assume an appearance as in the annexed sketch.

In this figure I have placed the ices promiscuously in the situations of the latitude they may be supposed to occupy, on being disjoined from South Shetland, and possibly other lands in high southern latitudes which have not yet been discovered.

St. Pierre, whose writings in general do honour to his head and heart, has treated the subject of polar temperature in a course of reasoning truly inventive; but he establishes his theory by referring to tides and currents, of which, although the latter do exist in a trifling degree, yet experience demonstrates them to bear no adequate proportion to the cause he assigns, namely, large floods proceeding from the Polar Regions, by the fusion of their ices.

I am not aware that his philosophical observations on the state of the poles have ever been replied to: perhaps they have been thought too chimerical to merit an answer; but the many unsuccessful attempts which have been made to penetrate the Northern Polar Sea seem, at first sight, to favour his hypothesis; and it is only by a close examination of his arguments, compared with modern discovery, that the errors of his system can be detected. Actual observation has afforded me proof of the fallacy of his conjectured polar currents. (See his Studies of Nature, p. 35.) "In our winter, the fluid ocean

descends from the frozen ocean of the South Pole, at that time four or five thousand leagues in circumference, by the action of the sun, which melts the ice from the equinox of *September* to that of *March.*"

On reference to the Journal of my voyage, p. 46. it will be found, that the current which set to the northward was in general scarcely perceptible; and on the 18th of *February* (see p. 35.), it actually ran to the southward.

This proves certainly, that the current he describes does not constantly prevail; but the cupola he has fancied may exist without producing a northerly flood. If the poles of the world be pyramids of ice, as he asserts *, I am of opinion that no such flood of ice waters as he mentions could take place; for these supposed cupolas must be the accumulation of, perhaps, the age of the world, subject to a small change in their formation by the change of the obliquity of the ecliptic, and ages since they must have reached that point of the atmosphere, above which there is no condensation of vapour, and consequently no addition to the mass, by means of snow, could be produced. The height of these cupolas will of course depend on the quality of the Polar atmosphere; but we cannot doubt that they

* This assertion I find quoted by respectable authors.

are much above the point of congelation at the summer solstice*, and therefore not subject to fusion by the sun's rays. Around the water line of the base of this imaginary pyramid some fusion of ice would certainly be effected; but, the space occupied by the ice immersed in water being greater than that which it would fall into when dissolved, the waters by this partial fusion could scarcely be impelled enough to produce a current. Snow and ice waters falling from land must unquestionably produce currents. This appears during summer, in the innumerable straits and channels situated in high northern latitudes. When I further call in question the statements made by St. Pierre, I feel sensible that it is only by means of actual observation, such as he had not the advantage of, that I am able to refute his opinions. In accounting for the universal deluge, by the fusion of the Polar ices, he says, "Who then can doubt, that the total effusion of the ices of the two poles is sufficient to overflow the bed of the ocean, and entirely to inundate the two continents? Must not the elevation of those two cupolas of Polar ice, vast as oceans, far surpass the height of the most lofty lands, since the fragments of their

* The mean temperature here being supposed to be 32°; the point of perpetual congelation is, therefore, in the horizon.

extremities, when half dissolved, are as high as the turrets of Notre Dame, and even rise to the height of fifteen or eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea?"

This is certainly a mistake, and St. Pierre, we may suppose, was led into this error by the exaggerated accounts of voyagers who had navigated in high latitudes; for I know of no icebergs, afloat, at least in the south, of such a height. And those which are seen floating about do not separate from the supposed Polar glacier, but are formed in straits and indentations of land; and they vary in size not so much according to the latitude, above 60 degrees, in the southern hemisphere, as by peculiarities of the coasts where they are formed. This evidently appeared during my experience in the south. The ice-islands seen in the latitude of 74° were much less than others we know to have been formed in the latitude of from 60 to 65 degrees. If we may draw an analogy for the south from the observations made by Captain Phipps on the northern glacier or ice barrier (the southern not having been seen by me), it appears evident, that there is no coincidence between the northern glacier, which Captain Phipps (see his voyage, p. 60.), found to be twenty-three feet deep, and those fragments mentioned by St. Pierre, of 1500 and 1800 feet

high; they cannot, therefore, have separated from the base of the supposed pyramid. I am aware that St. Pierre supposes this mass of ice to reach over land as well as water; but into what latitude, it may be asked, does the base of this cupola extend? If the point of the South Pole be reared to the top of the atmosphere, which must be the case if such a cupola exist, how are we to reconcile the circumstance of higher ice-bergs being formed at the extremity, or base (as at South Georgia), than 1200 miles nearer the supposed point of greatest frigidity? Those ice-islands seen by me in latitude 74° had unquestionably been formed contiguous to land; and should, according to the idea of increasing cold, and the figure of a cupola, have been considerably higher than those formed in latitude 54° (in South Georgia). In this island they are some miles in extent, and are fully 250 feet high. If, then, the influence of the frigidity of the Pole extends so far northward as to be capable of producing such masses of ice, 2160 miles distant from the Pole, it is a very remarkable circumstance, that 1200 miles nearer to that point the sea should be found unfrozen.

I am inclined to hazard an opinion, that the effects of the sun, as caused by his alternate presence and absence on the two simple elements of earth and water, will be periodically the same.

Water unconnected with land will undergo no greater conversion into ice, during the absence of the sun, than can be again destroyed by his presence. No part of visible matter exhibits a tendency to progress in any one state indefinitely. All is alternate, and thus, by the change of seasons in the frigid parts of the globe, nature, whose energy is suspended during the absence of the sun, is, by his presence, again restored to activity; so that we find, for instance, the deer of Spitzbergen, in the latitude of 80° N.*, obtain their herbage annually, where the land is so formed as to supply the demands of animal life. We may receive with tolerable confidence the opinion common to all who have written theories of the earth, that the present distorted form of the terrestrial part of the globe is probably very different from that which it assumed at the creation of the world. The primitive state, philosophically considered, we may suppose exhibited the earthy or lighter strata on the surface of the globe, with a height not exceeding the present low lands; and in such a state, I am of opinion, that every portion of the surface of the globe, at its respective summer sol-

* Deer live and thrive in 80° of latitude on Spitzbergen, but cannot live in 75° in Nova Zembla. — Barrow's Voyages into the Arctic Regions, p. 372.

stice, would be at least free from ice, if not habitable.

The irregular strata, which compose nearly all the lands in high latitudes, interfere materially with the uniform operation of the sun, with regard to the heating of those regions in which they are placed.

The character which those parts of the earth assume, by the accumulations of ice and snow, does not, however, exist entirely uncontrolled. The rocky masses of land in the north have exhibited many changes in their temperature, according to their peculiar form, situation, and quality, and the collections of ice on their shores. But it may be remarked, that whatever accumulation of ice has been at various times formed upon them, after the lapse of a number of years has been removed, and the countries have returned to their original state. East Greenland, for example, is supposed to have been once inhabited. The country was afterwards shut up by ice, and the inhabitants consequently perished by cold and hunger. The country remained enveloped in ice for nearly three centuries, but is now again accessible.

The aqueous part of the globe does not exhibit the same difference. In short, it can be

little changed from the original quality it possessed at the formation of the world. The waters of the Equator, and those of the highest latitudes which have yet been attained, differ not materially from one another in saltness and density; and, never having been affected in the same manner as the earthy parts of the globe, they may be supposed to become solid and fluid alternately, in conformity to the presence or absence of the sun. Were the terrestrial parts of the globe formed regularly, that is, by the natural tendency of matter subsiding according to its specific gravity, the lighter and earthy part would occupy the upper stratum; which formation, it may be observed, is most natural, being indispensably necessary for the production of vegetable matter, on which animal life depends for support. If such were the universal construction of the solid part of the globe, I will venture to say, that no ice-islands would be found floating in the ocean, nor bergs fixed upon the land, because the ices would be annually dissolved.

Within the tropics, when the sun, in his course over the meridian, passes through the zenith, the excessive heat which is received during the day is modified by a night of twelve hours, and the whole of the torrid zone is tempered by the sun's change of declination, which is equal

to an arc of 47 degrees every six months. If this were not the case, animal life could not be supported in the Equatorial Regions, and every thing inflammable would probably become ignited.*

No material change could take place in the present form and motion of the earth, without destroying entirely the general harmony which exists in the economy of nature.

It is pleasing to observe, that from the Equator to the poles, as the continuance of the sun above the horizon increases, so the meridian altitude decreases; thus, by the obliquity of his rays, too great an accumulation of heat is prevented.

This harmony, arising from the regularity of the sun's motion in the ecliptic, Dr. Burnet, in his Theory of the Earth, (vol. i. p. 188.) considers not to have been the original order of the solar influence; but he supposes that, previous to the time of the deluge, the sun moved

* "The sun changes his declination every day in Venus, about 14° more at a mean rate than he does in a quarter of a year on our earth. This appears to be providentially ordered, for preventing the too great effects of the sun's heat (which is twice as great on Venus as on the earth, so that he cannot shine perpendicularly on the same places for two days together); and on that account the heated places have time to cool."—Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Astronomy, vol. i. p. 17.

constantly in the Equator, producing a temperature which, he says, caused perpetual spring.

My comments on this opinion shall not take me beyond the consideration of the state of the poles, that being the sole object of my present research.

In the case supposed by Dr. Burnet, the sun would be constantly in the horizon of the poles; and round these points, for ten degrees at least, would consequently have perpetual winter, whilst the Equatorial Regions would experience insufferable heat. It is evident that the whole space contained within the Polar Circles would be covered with ice, formed by the condensations of the atmosphere, and which would remain fixed, extending frigid influence some degrees farther.

Following up the Doctor's theory: — The eruption of the earth, which he supposes destroyed the primitive, and produced the present state of the globe, and which changed the position of the poles 23½ degrees, we may suppose would destroy the Polar ices, and leave the extremities of the globe unencumbered; but if, from the creation of the world, the sun has travelled the same course in the heavens, or, in other words, the axis of the earth has always had the same inclination to its orbit, which is the most probable conjecture, then

the conclusion, as relates to the poles, will be very different.*

The various ices of the poles we cannot suppose were produced immediately at the creation, they must have been produced by successive winters; and, since the temperature at the poles, at the summer solstice, is one-fourth greater than at the Equator, may we not reasonably imagine that the heat of the sun during the summer which succeeded the first winter, would be sufficient to reduce to fluidity the ices which had been produced? In this consideration, I am supposing the poles, as to their quality of matter, to be in one or other of the two states mentioned at page 3.

Many parts of Russia experience the extraordinary degree of summer heat, arising from the long space of time that the sun is above the horizon. At St. Petersburg, in the latitude of 60°, the heat during the month of *July*, I have myself experienced to be greater than that of the West Indies; and were the sun's rays to fall less obliquely on that part of Russia, ve-

* Professor Leslie, in the Supplement, vol. iii. of the Encyclopædia Britannica, observes: "At the Pole itself, during the complete circuit of the sun in midsummer's day, the measure of heat would be greater than at the Equator, by about $\frac{1}{4}$th, or 797 thousand parts. The continued endurance of the sun above the horizon more than compensates for the feebleness of his oblique rays."

getation would be destroyed by the violent and almost continual action of his rays. An extract from Captain Scoresby's Voyage to the North is descriptive of the powerful effects of the sun, where he continues for a great length of time above the horizon, (see p. 343.) "The total freeness from clouds of the atmosphere near shore is often remarkable. The sun sometimes sweeps for days together round and round the heavens without for a moment being concealed by a cloud. The heat on shore, I have had occasion to remark, is in such cases very intense. The constant action of the sun, without the suspension of night, produces an influence on the vegetation, which exceeds, perhaps, any thing that elsewhere occurs even in the finest regions of the globe."

In the calculations made for the comparative temperature between that of the pole and other latitudes, the accumulation of heat produced by the continued action of the sun is not taken into account; though such accumulation is great and quite apparent in many common experiments. I should, in another part of these sheets, perhaps, have introduced the following considerations regarding the probable deposit of congealed matter about the poles; but, as I have not immediately digressed from the subject of the peculiarities of the Polar Regions, the apparently detached

mode of treating it may not be materially objectionable.

I suppose that during the depth of winter the polar atmosphere becomes so divested of humidity, by intense frost, as to afford little matter for condensation in the form of snow; for when the Polar Regions have received their winter covering of snow and ice, the caloric of the land or water is thereby prevented from escaping, and little or no evaporation can go on.

"In the month of July, for example, when the mean point of deposition may be taken in this latitude (56°) at 45°, the quantity of moisture in the air is 0·2099 grains in 100 cubic inches; whereas, in the month of December, when the mean point of deposition is 15° lower, the quantity of moisture in the same volume of air is only 0·1278 grains."—Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, No. 21. p. 165.

The estimate made by Captain Parry, (Second Voyage, p. 200.), in regard to the quantity of snow which fell during five winter months, about the latitude of 66 degrees, was 4½ inches; but allowing, as he supposes, that as much had been carried off by wind, the accumulation of snow, during the whole five months of winter, would still not exceed the depth of 9 inches. It is impossible to infer exactly, from what fell in this latitude, what quantity would fall during the

same period at the poles; but, for the above reason, of the polar atmosphere probably possessing less humidity, the falls of snow would be proportionably less. If the Polar Region be an expanse of water, the next object of enquiry is, what is the probable annual production of ice?

Captain Parry's estimate of the depth of ice formed during five winter months, in the latitude of 66°, is the best analogy afforded for calculating that at the poles: the thermometer having frequently, during that time, indicated a temperature of 31° below zero of Fahrenheit. He says (Second Voyage, p. 186), "the thickness of the floe was here 4 feet 7 inches, being the produce of exactly five calendar months. The ice was hard, brittle, and transparent, till within six or eight inches of the lower surface, where it became soft and porous, allowing the water to filter through it. In the offing, or in deep water, the production of ice was very slight when the thermometer stood at 31°." By analogy, according to this estimate, we may suppose that the winter production of ice at the poles is not so enormous but that the more than equatorial heat of summer, which is presumed to exist there, will dissolve it.

The temperature of the sea-water in high northern latitudes, is much above what might be expected if the pole were a cupola of ice.

Captain Ross found the temperature of the sea to the northward of Davies' Straits, about the latitude of 72°, at the depth of six, seven, and eight hundred fathoms, to be 28¼°; and Captain Parry, at similar depths, found it 28°; whereas Captain Phipps, in the latitude of 75°, in the Spitzbergen Sea, at the depth of 600 fathoms, found the temperature of the water to be 40°; and on the 4th of *August*, in the latitude of 89 degrees, 60 fathoms under the ice, he found the temperature to be 39°. From what source can we suppose that these eleven degrees of heat above the freezing point of salt water were derived? It could not proceed from the southward; for, as mentioned by Captains Ross and Parry, at great depths the temperature has been found to be about 28°. The increase of heat was not generated at the surface, for that was at 36°; and the air was at 32°. It most probably came from the Polar Region, where the water, by being heated to a temperature of 70 or 80 degrees, would be so expanded as to force its way southwards to obtain a level.* The incapacity of water to conduct caloric downwards,

* According to the experiments of Mr. Dalton, on the gravity and expansion of water under different temperatures, the bulk of water at 5° is equal to the same bulk of water at 80°.—Manchester Memoirs, vol. v. p. 374.

and the rays of the sun exhausting their calorific effects in passing through a depth of not more than three or four fathoms, makes it difficult to conceive how the heated waters of the pole could find their way to the depth of sixty fathoms. Supposing them to be heated to the temperature of 70° or 80°, they would become specifically lighter than the waters of the sea in the latitude of 80°; but those of the pole coming in contact with ice, or a colder stratum of water, might be cooled to what Captain Phipps found it, 39°; and this being nearly the maximum density of water, it would sink beneath that at the surface, which was at a temperature of 36°.*

Captain Scoresby reached the latitude of 80° 33′, so early as the month of *April*, and on the 30th of that month, about the latitude of 80°, he observed a striking instance of the calorific effects of the sun. (See his Voyage to the North in the year 1822, p. 33.) The sun broke through the clouds at the same time, and produced a powerful effect on the temperature. At 2 A.M. the thermometer was 3° or 4° below zero, and at 8 A.M. it was + 6°; and, at 10, about 14° in the shade. But the genial influence of the sun was still more striking; in a sheltered air it produced the

* The density of water at 32°, and at 53°, is precisely the same; hence the maximum density of water is 42·5.—Manchester Memoirs.

feeling of warmth; the black paint of the side of the ship on which the sun shone, was heated to the temperature of 90° or 100°, and the pitch about the bends became fluid. Thus, while on one side there was uncommon warmth, on the opposite was intense freezing.

Although I have, in another place, mentioned the calorific effects experienced in the latitude of 80°, to afford but a weak analogy for deductions respecting the state of the pole, that observation applies to the motion of the sun round the horizon; but from this phenomenon, witnessed by Captain Scoresby, an inference may be drawn for the strength of the sun's action at the pole at the summer solstice, when the altitude is 23° 28′.

Supposing the ship in the latitude of 80° 19′ at noon, and to continue at rest in the position described by Captain Scoresby, the sun, when under the pole, would have declined in his revolution, to the altitude of 5° 8′ on the frozen side of the ship, at which altitude, from the extreme obliquity of his rays, he would produce scarcely any warmth, whilst the already heated side would have time to cool. But, again, suppose the ship revolved slowly round once in twenty-four hours, and that the sun remained at the altitude of 24° 21′, which would be nearly the meridian altitude at that place; or, that the sun

revolved round the ship, which would be the same thing, it cannot be doubted, that every part of the ship, in a few revolutions, would become temperately heated, and, after a considerable succession of revolutions, would suffer by too great an accumulation of caloric. The result of the sun's action at the poles would therefore not be materially different from that mentioned by Captain Scoresby, as having been the effect of the meridian sun in the latitude of 80°.

The meridian altitude at the pole, at the summer solstice, would be only 53′ lower than that in the case above mentioned; and, though the heat absorbed by a sheet of water, supposing the region of the pole to be such, would not be equal to that taken up by the black side of a ship, yet it would be considerable. I have supposed the ices of the poles to be dissolved by the 21st of *June;* for, although the process of the fusion of ice is slow, it having no less than 140 degrees of caloric to absorb, before it can become fluid, yet, the sun having swept the horizon for nearly two months, advancing from the altitude of 15° to 23° 28′, we may conclude his effects to have been sufficient to accomplish the dissolution of those ices.

The intervention of the rays by fogs and clouds, both of which are prevalent in high northern latitudes, would, of course, lessen the

effects of the sun; but in regard to the Antarctic Region, I remarked, during my navigation in those seas, that the atmosphere became less loaded with vapour as we proceeded southwards, till, in the latitude of 74° 15′, the sky was almost without a cloud.

By referring to the annexed figure, it will be seen in how rapid a proportion the length of day, or the sun's continuance above the horizon, increases from the Arctic and Antarctic Circles to the poles, thereby affording at those points more than an equivalent of heat for the obliquity of his rays.

Were the globe elongated at the poles, so that each extremity resembled the small end of an egg, the intervention of night, which in such case would take place during summer, as well as winter, in the latitude of 80°, would probably be sufficient to fill that region with ice; but, the earth being globular, or rather flatted at the Poles, as the sun approaches the regions within the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, they enjoy his presence for a longer time, in proportion to the rapid contraction that takes place in the circles of latitude, as may be understood by the annexed diagram. In the figure, the strait lines represent diameters of circles of latitude, all of which, by the diurnal motion of the earth, revolve in equal spaces of time; but, from the

spherical form of the globe, they exhibit great differences in the length of day and night. The sun, S, being placed at an assumed distance, it may be seen, that the ray A, proceeding from the sun to the pole, P, from which the sun appears at an angle of 23° 28′ above the horizon, cannot, by the diurnal motion of the earth, be either raised or depressed, as there is nothing in that situation to intercept it. But, in the latitude of 80°, and at the point B, at midnight, when the sun is under the pole, the segment of the earth that lies between that latitude and the pole, will, by its convexity, reduce the altitude to 13°. At the Arctic Circle, C, at midnight, the segment contained between it and the pole being equal to the altitude of the sun at that point, he will, of course, appear in the horizon. An observer, at the point D, on the Arctic Circle, will perceive the sun on the meridian, at an angle of 46° 56′, with the horizon. But, when the observer is carried half round that circle, by the diurnal motion of the earth, which brings midnight, as at C, the sun will appear in the horizon; his depression being equal to the segment C P D (46° 56′). Hence it appears evident, that the altitude of the sun at midnight will increase as this segment becomes shortened, or, in other words, as you approach the pole; and there, at the summer solstice, the segment

being reduced to a point, he will pass round the pole at nearly the same altitude.

The diameters of the circles of latitude at 10 and 20 degrees, differ but very little from that of the Equator; and, consequently, the days do not vary much in length: but, above the latitude of 20°, it may be seen, that towards the Pole the diameters diminish very fast, keeping the sun longer in view as they become shortened, till beyond the Arctic Circle, where, at the summer solstice, he never disappears.

Notwithstanding all that has been said for the open state of the poles, two instances of modern experiment have proved, beyond a doubt, the impracticability of at present penetrating the Northern Polar Circle. Captains Phipps and Ross, in their respective attempts at different points within the Arctic Circle, have reached the utmost navigable limit; but, in both cases, they were entangled with land, from which, probably, arose the impediments of ice they met with.

As the northern termination of Greenland has not yet been discovered, it may not unlikely extend to the northward of Spitzbergen, and thence to the eastward, supporting that glacier of ice along which Captain Phipps coasted in search of an opening.

From the direction of the east coast of Green-

land, and the position of the northern shores of the Arctic land in general, it is not improbable that a range of islands extends quite round the Polar Circle, terminating the northern extremities of Europe, Asia, and America, and forming channels which will be constantly encumbered with ice. The disjoined state of lands already known in high latitudes supports this conjecture.

We are credibly informed that the latitude of 81° 50′ was reached by Captain Scoresby, senior; but previous accounts cannot be equally depended on. The Dutch navigators, whose method of observation, from the imperfection of their instruments at that time, was subject to much inaccuracy, pretend to have been driven by gales and currents into the latitude of 88°; and, on one occasion, into 89° 40′; but these accounts are void of credibility. In the Edinburgh Review some more modern voyages are taken notice of, which appear to be well authenticated; (see No. 58. p. 331.) "In 1616, Baffin advanced in Davies' Straits, as high as the latitude of 78 degrees. The same skilful navigator had, two years before, penetrated in the Greenland seas, to the latitude of 81°, and seen land as high as that of 82°, lying to the north-east of Spitzbergen; but it is mortifying to remark, how little progress has been made in

geographical discovery since those early and intrepid adventurers explored the Arctic Regions with their humble barks, which seldom exceeded the size of fifty tons.

We must pass over a very long interval to obtain authentic information. In 1751, Captain M'Callam, whom Barnington calls a scientific seaman, sailed without obstruction from Hackluyt's Headland, as high as the latitude of 83½°, where he found an open sea; and the weather being fine, nothing hindered him from proceeding further but his responsibility to his owners for the safety of the ship. Captain Wilson, about the end of *June*, 1754, having found the sea quite clear as far as he could descry, advanced to the latitude of 83°, till, not meeting with any whales, and beginning to apprehend some danger, he shaped back his course. At this very time Captain Guy, after four days of foggy weather, was likewise carried to the same point. The Polar Seas at this period must, indeed, have been remarkably open; for one of the most extraordinary and best authenticated voyages was performed in 1754, by Mr. Stephens, a very skilful and accurate observer, whose testimony is put beyond all manner of doubt by the cool judgment of the late astronomer royal, Dr. Maskelyne. This navigator informed Dr. Maskelyne, that about the end of

May he was driven off Spitzbergen by a southerly wind, which blew for several days, till he had reached the latitude of 84½°, and that in the whole of this run he met with little ice, and no drift wood, and did not find the cold to be anywise excessive.

The credibility of these latter statements of the Polar Sea having been penetrated, appear scarcely to admit of being called in question, particularly that of the voyage related by Mr. Stephens; but, it is much to be regretted, that the accounts of these voyages were not published with such details as would corroborate the general statement, which would have been much more satisfactory than traditionary report.

Mercantile pursuits have not afforded equal means for obtaining information of the southern regions; nor have experiments for arriving at the South Pole been persevered in by governments or public boards of science.

The barrier of ice which Captain Cook met with in latitude 71° 10′ was considered to be the glacier of the ice of the Pole, and consequently closed all speculation on the possibility of reaching it.

The continents of the two hemispheres terminate at very different points of latitude. The southern extremity of the continent of Asia lies to the northward of the Equator, and those of

Africa and America in the south, terminate in mere peninsulas. The South Pacific and Atlantic Islands are inconsiderable when compared with the expanse of ocean in which they are scattered, whilst the lands of the northern hemisphere terminate within the Arctic Circle. The western extremity of South Shetland lies within the Antarctic Circle, and that is the most southern land which has yet been discovered.

By a glance at the map of the Polar parts of the two hemispheres, it will be seen how many more points of access there are to the South Pole than to that of the North. The only openings to the northern Polar Regions are by Bhering's Straits, and by the Spitsbergen Sea, forming together not more than one ninth of the Circle of the seventieth degree of latitude.

The Antarctic Regions are differently circumstanced as regards land, for we know of none to the south of 69½; and that is reported to be an island of small extent, and probably is a part of the Archipelago of South Shetland.

The difficulty attendant on the navigation of the Antarctic Sea, so far as I have seen, consists in having to pass through chains of ice islands, floating between the latitudes of sixty and about seventy-one. Within little more than this portion of both hemispheres, probably, the principal ices will be met with.

In standing southwards there is little doubt but that heavy field-ice would be fallen in with, which had been formed in bays or straits, and which had thence drifted into deep water. These obstacles, however, though a little embarrassing, might perhaps without much difficulty be passed.

Two Russian ships on discovery in the year 1821, are reported to have reached the latitude of 70°, and it is said were prevented by ice from going farther.* I reached about 255 miles nearer the Pole, and met with no such obstruction.

The barriers to the attainment of experimental knowledge are, however, often produced by an unlucky concurrence of circumstances. The noblest efforts are frequently blasted by some untoward event, which not only, perhaps, affects the interest of the persons engaged, but leads to false conclusions as to the possibility of ultimately obtaining the object desired.

* Bellinghausen's Voyage.—The Russian voyage of discovery towards the South Pole did not reach so high a latitude as Captain Weddell, whose voyage is noticed at p. 146. For the chief of the expedition, Captain Bellinghausen, says, "We continued our cruise to the south-east, sailing between large masses of ice; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, we never could pass the 70° of south latitude, and this only in one place. In all others, we could only advance 69½°." — Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, No. 23. p. 177.

Probably no part of science is more subject to erroneous conclusions than that of hydrography. Supposititious islands have been seen through a hazy atmosphere which in reality never had existence; and those which have been actually seen have been sometimes incorrectly laid down, by reason of adverse circumstances, such as having been seen at a great distance, or by reason of darkness or fogs.

The most patient and diligent research is always necessary to the attaining a correct knowledge of those parts of science of which I have treated in the foregoing pages: and if I have contributed, by my private adventure, to the advancement of hydrography, I conceive that I have only done that which every man would endeavour to accomplish, who, in the pursuit of wealth, is at the same time zealous enough in the cause of science to lose no opportunity of collecting information for the benefit of mankind.

THE END.

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VINDICATION

OF

CERTAIN PASSAGES

IN THE

FOURTH AND FIFTH VOLUMES

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY J. LINGARD, D.D.

"Voila la cause de la mort de M. l'Admiral et du massacre des siens, encore "qu'il y en ait plusieurs, qu'on ne leur sçauroit oster l'opinion de la teste que cette "fusée n'eust esté filée de longue main, et cette trame couvée. *Ce sont abus.*"

BRANTOME, ii. 282.

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INTRODUCTION.

It did not escape me, when I first sate down to write the "History of England," that I had imposed on myself a toilsome and invidious task. I foresaw that it would require habits of patient research, and incessant application; that I should frequently be obliged to contradict the statements of favourite writers, occasionally perhaps to offend the political or religious partialities of my readers; and that my pretensions to accuracy would provoke others to seek out and expose those casual errors, which no human vigilance can totally exclude from long and laborious compositions. But the knowledge of these inconveniences did not divert me from my purpose. I have pursued it faithfully and fearlessly through six quarto volumes, and have brought down the history

from the first invasion by the Romans to the death of Charles the First.

As the work issued from the press, it gradually attracted notice. By some writers it was honoured with the meed of their approbation: others selected certain portions for the subject of animadversion. To these I made no reply, intending to reserve myself till the completion of my labours, and then, in a general answer, to admit emendation, where I found myself in error, and to defend my former statements, where I thought them captiously or wantonly assailed. If I now recede from that resolution, it is in consequence of a late article in the "Edinburgh Review." Its writer, having previously surveyed the whole work, pounces, with the rapacity of the vulture, on a note at the end of the fifth volume, relating to an event unconnected with English history; and encouraged by the detection of certain real or imaginary errors, he charges me with carelessness, and fraud, and misrepresentation, and pronounces his solemn and deliberate judgment, that the book "is one of a most dangerous description, which will impress the minds of its readers with false and incorrect notions of the history of their country, and of the character and conduct of their ancestors." This sample of enlightened criticism has drawn from me the

present tract. It is not in my disposition to affect an apathy which I do not feel, or to sit down tamely under reproach, which I do not deserve. I owe it to myself to refute this sweeping accusation; I owe it to my readers to show, that I have not abused their confidence.

With the Scottish reviewer I shall also notice two other opponents; the Reverend Mr. Todd, who conceives that I have not done justice to the memory of archbishop Cranmer, and a writer in the "Quarterly Review," whose gallantry has induced him to advocate the cause of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. The objections of these three, with my answers to each, will occupy the following pages. If there be little in the controversy to interest the curiosity of the reader, I shall not at least exhaust his patience by treating any subject at greater length than its importance may require.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

CHAPTER I.

My Memoir on the Parisian Massacre—Judgment of the Reviewer—His artful manner of Proof—Improbability of a preconcerted Plot—The King's friendship for the Admiral—The attempt on the Admiral's Life—The visit of Charles after the attempt—The absence of contemporary and credible authority—The testimony of the Duke of Anjou and Tavannes—The proceedings immediately before the Massacre—The credulity of the Reviewer—The King's despatches to the Provinces—The number of the slain.

THERE is something extraordinary in the choice made by the reviewer. To judge of a history of England, he has selected a subject exclusively French; and to enable his readers to form an opinion of the whole work, he has called their attention to the contents of a single note. There is something still more extraordinary in the manner, in which he has executed his task. He can see nothing to commend: even the old maxim of "damning with faint praise" is forgotten: in every page, in almost every line, he discovers, or pretends to discover, instances of error, or ignorance, or misrepresentation. Nor is he content with impeaching the literary, he also assails the moral, character of the writer. He represents him as guilty of intentional fraud, as actuated by religious animosities, and as taking advantage of the ignorance of the public, to mislead and deceive the reader. Such conduct, however, though it be varnished over with a display of

authorities and quotations, is not calculated to win credit with the discerning reader. Of its cause he may be ignorant: but he will not fail to remark, that, let it proceed whence it may, it has more the appearance of personal pique than of impartial criticism.

Reviewers should always bear in mind, that it is a dangerous experiment to sport with the public credulity. They hold office *durante bene placito*: As long as they fairly exhibit the merits and demerits of the writers, whom they call before their tribunal, they may be assured of support. But if they allow prejudice to guide their pens, if they make their pages subservient to private antipathies and resentments, if, under the pretence of diffusing information, they chiefly seek to injure the character of a supposed adversary;[1] they violate the first of their duties, they break their word to their readers, and they infallibly forfeit, as they deserve to forfeit, the confidence of the public.

It has pleased the reviewer to constitute himself my accuser: it remains for me to repel the accusation. If I fail in the attempt, the failure will justify his conduct: if I succeed, and of success I cannot entertain a doubt, *his* will be the disgrace of defeat, and the shame of misrepresentation. He has provoked the contest: he must submit to the consequences.

In my history of the reign of Elizabeth, I was led to notice, at some length, the Parisian massacre in 1572, not so much because it belonged to the subject, as that I might conform to the practice of

[1] The article in the review was provoked by a letter in a newspaper, which was so worded, as to have the appearance of coming from me. I, therefore, take this opportunity of saying, that I was not privy either to the writing or the publication of that letter.

preceding writers. But at the same time I ventured to depart from the common opinion, that it was the effect of a preconcerted plot, and to consider it as the sudden result of an accidental and unforeseen event. I was, indeed, aware, as old Mathieu had taught me in his narrative of the same transaction, that it is not always prudent to advocate the cause of truth in opposition to accredited error:[2] and I readily foresaw that the statement which I should make, would excite surprise, and provoke contradiction. But the fact appeared to me a proper subject for historical inquiry; and the consideration that two centuries and a half have elapsed since it happened, that time has been allowed for passion to cool, and prejudice to wear away, determined me to commit my opinion fairly and fearlessly to the candour and discernment of my readers.

Judgment of the Reviewer. It was, however, unfortunate that my memoir could not appear in its original shape. It had been reserved for a place among the notes in the appendix to the fifth volume: and the overgrown bulk of that volume compelled me to reduce it to one half of its original size. In consequence I confined myself to a rapid, and, in some points perhaps unsatisfactory, narrative. Minor, though corroborative, circumstances, were omitted; many of the particular authorities were suppressed; and all reasoning on either side of the question was excluded. On this account it was, that in a short prefatory address, I requested the reader to believe

[2] Je scais bien qu'il y a de l'imprudence à penser persuader des choses vraies contre l'erreur commune et la creance publique: et néantmoins plusieurs ont oui dire à Villeroy que cette journée ne fût pas premeditée, comè on le rapporte. Hist. de Charl. ix. i. 343.

that my opinion, differing as it did from that of many other writers, " was not formed till after a diligent perusal and comparison of the most authentic documents on the subject."[3]

Whatever others may have thought of this passage, the reviewer openly comes forward to declare that he does not credit my assertion. The memoir, he contends, exhibits so many instances of carelessness and haste, so many misconceptions and misrepresentations, so long a train of literary delinquencies, that he cannot believe I have read with attention, if I have read at all, the works to which I appeal. On the contrary, he suspects that all the knowledge which I possess of the St. Bartholomew, is derived from Caveyrac, and that it is through the medium of that writer, that I have seen and " diligently compared the original documents on this subject."[4]

His artful manner of proof. 1. It were to be wished that critics would quote fairly, when they mean to condemn severely. In this passage, and in the two following pages, the reviewer professes thrice to quote my very words, and thrice substitutes in their place words of his own.[5] I said, that I had compared " the most authentic documents;" he makes me say that I compared the " original documents." The change may be unintentional, but it is not immaterial. By " the most authentic documents," I meant documents of sufficient authority to deserve credit, as coming from men, who either were the original devisers, or received their infor-

[3] Hist. viii. 515. I quote the 8vo edition that I may not differ from the reviewer. [4] Rev. 95. [5] Rev. p. 95. 97.

mation from the original devisers, of the massacre. Such persons may be admitted as authentic witnesses. But the "original documents" of the reviewer are not confined to such evidence: he extends the denomination to the numerous writings on the subject, published within a few years after the event;[6] of which the far greater part proceeded from those, who possessed not the means of ascertaining the real origin of the tragedy; and who wrote only from hearsay, conjecture, and passion. Such writings cannot be classed among "the most authentic documents on the subject:" so that, should the reviewer prove that I have neglected to consult some of *them*, he still will not have proved any thing contradictory of my assertion.

2. It is, moreover, both singular and suspicious, that from the prefatory address, he should immediately hurry away to the very last paragraph in the memoir. There he discovers a passage, in which by mistake the epithet "huguenot" has been prefixed to a list of six writers: and very plausibly

[6] See Rev. p. 97. He mentions particularly Masson's life of Charles IX. published by Le Laboureur, Castelnau, iii. 15. and as he frequently refers to this tract, I may be allowed to inform the reader, that Masson's Vita Caroli IX. consists of six loosely printed pages, in which the immense number of fifteen lines is devoted to the history of the St. Bartholomew. It abounds with errors, and is rather a sketch containing the heads of a projected history, than a history itself: it was written by Masson just after the death of Charles, and then thrown aside. Of his motives we know nothing; but though he lived five and thirty years afterwards, though in that interval he published his annals and other works, he never thought proper to send the Vita Caroli to the press. Yet this is one of "the original, or authentic documents," which, according to the reviewer, I ought to have consulted!

infers that, since three of the six, Perefixe, De Thou, and Masson, are known to have been catholics, Dr. Lingard could not have been conversant with their works. But may I ask, why the reviewer has taken this subject from its proper place to introduce it here? Is it not to create a persuasion, that it serves to prove the charge immediately preceding; to shew that I have quoted authorities which I had not consulted? If so, he knows that he is playing a false game. Not one of the three writers is quoted by me throughout the memoir; nor can any of their works be ranked among the authentic documents, which I asserted that I had compared. The fact is, that the passage, in which their names occur, was translated from a French writer, to whom, as to my only authority, I referred the reader.[7]

3. In the next place, I must be allowed to doubt, whether the reviewer believes, as he pretends, that I was ignorant of the religion of the three writers. Masson, indeed, is now an obscure name; and there was a Masson, a calvinist writer in Holland. With respect to him, therefore, I might have been in error. But could he imagine that I had never heard of De

[7] From Caveyrac, dissertation xxxvi—xli. The reviewer tells us that "this work had little success when it first appeared, and obtained no favourable reputation for its author," p. 95. I know not whence he received his information; but the clamour which it raised among the infidel party in France, and their attempt to put it down, by falsely representing it as an apology of the massacre, are powerful testimonies in its favour. The reviewer lends a helping hand to its opponents, by charging Caveyrac with the omission of two words (qu'autres,) in a quotation from La Popelinière: I desired a friend to copy for me the whole page from the original, and in his copy the very same words are wanting.

Thou and Perefixe, names so illustrious in the literary and ecclesiastical history of France; or that I did not know that the president à Mortier always professed himself a catholic, or that the archbishop of Paris could not be a huguenot? A fair and candid critic would rather have inferred that the word "huguenot" had by some accident crept into the text. And so it was. It had been placed by me in the margin as a private mark, a sort of catch-word, to aid my memory, and was taken thence by the copyist or the printer, as a correction for the word "national," the true reading in the manuscript. With this, indeed, the reviewer could not be acquainted. But when he considered that it was but the error of a single word, he ought to have hesitated before he charged to ignorance and imposture, what might have been, as in reality it was, the effect of mere accident. If he have written much for the press, he must know that such errors are not uncommon.[8] He must occasionally have discovered in his manuscript a word which he never intended to write, and in the printed copy a word which he had never written. The operations of the mind outstrip in speed those of the body. While the hand is employed in tracing the characters on paper, or in arranging the types against the rule, the mind frequently hurries forward, and a word, connected with the new train of thought, is introduced by

[8] Not uncommon even in the writings of the reviewer himself. Thus I have shewn that in transcribing my words he has thrice substituted "original" for "authentic;" and thus again in p. 123, he refers to La Popelinière, ii. 67. for the massacre of Vassy, though in reality it is my reference for the massacre of Paris, which happened ten years afterwards.

manual operation, without the consciousness of the writer or of the compositor. To this or some similar cause the suspicious appearance of the word "huguenôt" might have been attributed. But to the reviewer it seemed otherwise. He had detected the error, and resolved to derive from it every advantage in his power. The merit of the discovery he may claim: but I doubt whether that merit will atone, in the estimation of the reader, for the unfair use to which it has been applied.

A preconcerted Plot improbable. We may now return to the memoir, the first half of which is occupied by a hasty sketch of the principal events that preceded the massacre. To this part the reviewer has offered no objection. I shall, however, recal its contents to the attention of my readers: because, 1. the friendship of the king for Coligni, the leader of the huguenots; 2. the attempt on the life of that nobleman; 3. and the visit of the royal family to the bed-side of the wounded man, are facts which forcibly demonstrate the utter improbability of the opinion so confidently maintained by my adversary.

The King's Friendship for the Admiral. In the first place, I noticed the friendship which the king, Charles IX., after the pacification of 1570, manifested for the admiral, and the ascendancy which that friendship gave him over the mind of the young monarch. His correspondence with the king was frequent, his interviews were secret and confidential. To attach Charles to his party, he is said, to have awakened the royal jealousy by throwing out suspicions of the designs of the queen mother, who monopolized the powers of government, and was

careful to bring forward on all occasions her favourite son, the duke of Anjou:[9] and with the same view he flattered the king's ambition, by proposing to him the conquest of the Netherlands as an easy achievement, if he would permit the French protestants to aid their brethren, the Gueux of Flanders, already in arms against the king of Spain. In the year 1571, he visited Charles, both at Blois and at Paris: in 1572 he was invited to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre. The ceremony had been fixed for the 18th of August: but he repaired to the court in June, partly at the solicitation of the English ambassador, partly through his own anxiety to further the Spanish war.[10] There he remained during two months, making or appearing to make daily advances in the royal confidence, and exciting the most serious apprehensions in the breasts of the opposite party. Now the writers, who believe in a preconcerted plot, are compelled to maintain that all this while Charles was acting the part devised for him by the queen mother, feigning a friendship which he did not feel, and seeking by smiles and courtesies to allure the admiral and his friends to the spot designed for their destruction. But, 1. at the commencement of this period, he was only twenty years old. Is it probable that so young a prince should be so consummate a master in the art of dissimulation, as to be able for two years to carry on this system without detection; a prince, too, who from the sudden bursts of passion to which

[9] Mémoires de Villeroy, ii. 63. Mémoires de l'Etoile, i. 47. Le Laboureur, Castlenau, iii. 31.

[10] Mémoires de l'estat de France, sous Charles Neufiesme, i. 72, 85. 217. Meidelboug, 1578.

he was subject, was liable at any moment to betray his real sentiments? 2. Is it credible that the admiral, a wary and veteran politician, would suffer himself, for so long a period, to be duped by the mere acting of a raw and unexperienced youth, and so completely duped, that even the attempt on his life did not dispel the delusion?[11] 3. Is it possible that if Charles dissembled, his brother of Anjou and the marshal de Tavannes, his supposed accomplices in the plot, should be unacquainted with his dissimulation? Yet that they were, is evident from this fact, that they presented four memorials which are still extant, to the council, to dissuade the king from the Spanish war, to which he was led by the advice of the admiral.[12]

These are improbabilities which it will require no little ingenuity to remove: there are others still more appalling to succeed.

The attempt on the Admiral's life. In the next place, I related the attempt to murder the admiral in the open street on the 22d of August. He was wounded, but not mortally, and the assassin who escaped, is known to have been employed by the queen mother, the duke of Anjou, and their confi-

[11] If we may believe Margaret, the sister of Charles, the dissimulation was on the other side. Les renards avoient sceu si bien feindre, qu'ils avoient gagné le cœur de ce brave prince, pour l'esperance de se rendre utiles à l'acroissement de son estat, et en luy proposant de belles et glorieuses enterprises en Flandres. Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois, lii. 174. I quote from the collection universelle des mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France, by Perrin, 1785—1791.

[12] They are to be found in the Mémoires de Tavannes, Tom. xxvii. 225. 229. 248. 292.

dential advisers, the very persons to whom the design of a general massacre is attributed by the reviewer. But by what ingenuity can this event be reconciled with such a design? What possible motive could there be to attempt the life of one man, if the object was to take the lives of all? Its effect must have been to awaken the suspicion of the intended victims, to warn them of their danger, to suggest to them projects of resistance or escape. That the life of the admiral alone was sought, is most certain. Every precaution had been taken to secure the flight of the assassin, but no preparations had been made to follow up the blow. If the admiral had fallen, his adherents would probably have withdrawn to places of safety. They might have done it on that day; they might have done it on the next. The proposal was twice made, but rejected by the obstinacy of the leaders.[13] Whoever considers these circumstances, must, I think, conclude that no general massacre was at that time in contemplation.

The King's visit to the Admiral. Lastly, I related the impression which this attempt appeared to make on the mind of the king. He expressed the most lively apprehension for the fate of his wounded friend, and gave peremptory orders for the discovery and punishment of the assassin and his employers. Not content with this, he visited the admiral in his bed, accompanied by the queen, his two brothers, and his principal counsellors.

[13] Mémoires de l'estat. i. 282. Popeliniére, ii. 64. Si deslors ils eussent deslogé de Paris et gaigné Orleans, le surplus ne fust arrivé, et n'eust on ozé rien faire à M. l'Admiral. Mémoires de Jean de Mergez, xli. 86.

Now this visit opposes another most powerful objection to the hypothesis of a preconcerted plot. There was no necessity that Charles should visit the admiral, merely because that nobleman desired it: on the contrary, the very request was likely to excite apprehension in a guilty mind. Yet he goes there without guards: he puts himself, his mother, and brothers into the power of the men, whose destruction he is supposed to have been plotting for two years, and whose suspicions he must have expected to be raised by the late attempt: and he puts himself into their power at a moment, when they are assembled at the house to the number of two hundred, with arms in their hands, and cries of vengeance in their mouths. To me it is utterly incredible that, with the consciousness of guilt on his mind, he should have thus unnecessarily exposed himself, and those who were most dear to him, to such imminent danger.

And here there occurs an additional difficulty. Why did Catharine, the real contriver of the murderous attempt, accompany the king to the admiral's chamber? The writers of both parties agree that she feared the influence of Coligni over her son, and sought to prevent by her presence the introduction of any subject prejudicial to her interests. The protestants relate that the wounded chieftain was not to be deterred; that he reminded Charles of the many warnings which he had previously given him, and that he had begun to point the suspicions of the king against certain persons, who were undermining his throne, when Catharine suddenly interposed, and put an end to the conversation.[14] The account

[14] Mais la Royne mere scait fort bien empescher, qu'il ne commu-

of the duke of Anjou is more particular, though rather different. According to him, Charles, at the request of the admiral, ordered his mother and brother to withdraw to the centre of the room. They obeyed: but the earnestness with which the admiral was observed to speak, excited the alarm of Catharine. She interrupted his discourse; prevailed on her son to depart, and employed all her arts to draw from him the secret subject of the conversation. At last he exclaimed with an oath: "what the admiral said was the truth; I have allowed the sovereign authority to slip from my hands into yours and those of my brother: it is necessary that I be upon my guard against a power which will soon overbalance my own. This was what he told me, and begged me to receive, as the death-bed advice of a loyal and devoted servant."[15] It is immaterial which of these narratives we prefer. Each of them shows that Catharine was, and had reason to be, jealous of the influence of the admiral with the king: a jealousy, which it will be difficult to account for, if we believe that he had been employed for two years in endeavours, under her direction, to allure that nobleman and his adherents to their destruction.

No credible authority for a preconcerted Plot. 1. When I sate down to compose the memoir, I entertained no doubt of the received opinion, that the massacre was the effect of a preconcerted plot: but

nique particulierement au Roy quelques secrets touchant la conservation de son estat. De Serres. iii. 177. Mémoires de l'estat. i. 278. Thuan. iii. 124.

[15] Mémoires de Villeroy, ii. 67-69.

these formidable objections induced me to pause, and to inquire on what real foundation a system so replete with improbabilities, was built. Writers, who asserted it, were to be found without number; they were catholics as well as protestants: some took it for granted; others attempted to prove it. But what was their authority? Nothing beyond suspicion, and report, and conjecture. Not one of them, as far as I could discover, pretended to have been privy to the design; not one received his information from those who were supposed to have been privy to it. All the evidence of this description is on the other side: every credible document, purporting to give the testimony of the king, or of the queen, or of the duke of Anjou, or of their ministers, declares that the massacre was a sudden and unforeseen expedient, suggested by the alarm which the failure of the attempt on the admiral had excited, and by the danger to be expected from the revenge of his adherents.[16]

2. It was this which caused me to remark in a note, that the hypothesis of my opponents was "unsupported by contemporary authority;"[17] an

[16] Or il est certain que, si l'amiral fut mort de ses blessures, le malheur de son party s'en fut allé avec lui; mais quand on assura le roi, qu'il serait bientot gueri, et sans doute il s'en vengeroit, le roi fut conseillé de le faire achever, et cela ne se pouvant faire sans envelopper en la même peine les principaux de son parti, on jugea necessaire d'en ruiner plusieurs pour en perdre un. Mathieu, Histoire de Charles ix. i. 344. J'ai écrit plus au long, et, je crois, plus veritablement que nul autre, ce qui se passa en cette journée, parce que je l'ai appris de ceux mêmes qui furent au conseil et à l'execution.—Id. p. 347.

[17] Hist. vi. 519.

observation which has aroused the astonishment and ire of the reviewer. "Unsupported by contemporary authority!" he exclaims, "why; it was maintained by Capilupi at Rome in the month of September, it was believed by the elector of Saxony in October, it was asserted by an orator in the assembly of the huguenots of Dauphiné in December, and it was assumed as true by the ex-jesuit Masson in 1575."[18] All this I am ready to grant, and even more. But from what source did these persons derive their knowledge? As well might you appeal to the French orators and writers of pamphlets, for contemporary authority to prove that the attempt to destroy the first consul by the explosion of the "infernal machine," in the year 1800, originated with Mr. Windham and his colleagues in the British ministry. A broad distinction should be drawn between authority for a public fact, and authority for a secret design. The fact is a matter of notoriety: its truth may be easily

[18] Rev. 98. 99. "On voit naitre," says D'Aubigné, ii. 70. anno 1618, "un livre, duquel l'autheur s'appelloit *preneur de loups*, pour louer l'excessive finesse, disposition et fermeté de cœur du Roi et de la Roine." The opinion of this wolf-catcher (Capilupi) was, that a league had been concluded between the pope and the two kings of France and Spain, by which the king of France was to massacre all the chiefs of the huguenots at the marriage of his sister, and aid with all his power the duke of Alva to exterminate the rebels in Flanders; the king of Spain was to restore Navarre to the king of France, and aid *the duke of Anjou to get possession of the English crown;* and then the allies were to unite their forces to exterminate the heretics of Germany, and establish a new constitution of the empire by the authority of the pope. Lo Stratagema. 1572. This specimen will teach the reader what judgment he ought to form of the "wolf catcher."

ascertained. I would admit even Capilupi and the elector of Saxony as authority for the fact of the massacre. But a design, supposed to have been formed and conducted in privacy and concealment, unless it be necessarily implied in the result, requires very different proof. Its existence can be shewn only by the confession of the parties, or by the testimony of those, who have derived their knowledge from those parties. Such confession or testimony would be authority, and contemporary authority. But does any such exist? Was any such ever known to exist? No: my opponent "has not the hardihood" to assert it. Where then is his contemporary authority?

Objection to the testimony of Anjou. The reviewer offers two objections to other parts of the same note. 1. I had appealed to the narrative of the duke of Anjou, which, I say, was dictated by him "during a restless night, when his conscience was harassed by the recollection of the massacre," and which has the appearance of coming from one, "who seeks not to excuse but to accuse himself."[19] *He* tells us that indeed the duke dictated it when "he was agitated by the recollection of the bloody scenes," but that he "expressed in it no contrition for his crime, nor seemed at all conscious of its enormity:" that, on the contrary, he was accustomed "not only to make no secret of his participation in the St.

[19] Hist. viii. 519. That this representation is correct, appears plain to me from the very first words of the narrative. "Je vous fais venir icy, pour vous faire part de mes inquietudes et agitations de cette nuit, qui ont troublé mon repos en pensant à l'execution de la St. Barthelemy." Mém. de Villeroy, ii. 62.

Bartholomew, but reckoned it among the glorious acts of his life."[20] The difference between us on this subject is not a point worth the mooting. If I am correct, the duke's narrative deserves credit: if the reviewer be correct, it is equally deserving of credit. For surely we cannot imagine that Anjou would seek to extenuate his participation in that, "which he reckoned among the glorious acts of his life."

2. *Objection to the testimony of Tavannes.* I added that I had taken a few additional circumstances from the memoirs of Tavannes, who was in the Louvre, and one of the devisers of the massacre. On this the reviewer remarks that, "if Dr. Lingard had in reality read the book, he must have known that it was composed not by the marshal himself, but by his son John, viscount de Tavannes."—That the memoirs were composed by the viscount for the instruction of his family, I know: but I conceive that there is to be found in them that, which may fairly be taken for the testimony of the marshal himself, transmitted to us through his son. When the viscount comes to the summer of 1572, he gives us several papers, certainly written by his father, and details several particulars which he could hardly have derived from any other source. The reviewer, indeed, tells us "that he was too young to be admitted into the private councils where the massacre was devised," (which is probably true;) and that "he had too severe a father to venture on questioning him, or attempting to penetrate into his secrets;" which is very ingeniously put forward, not

[20] Rev. 100. 103.

because it is true, but because it may serve to parry my argument. In defiance, however, of the reviewer, the viscount tells us, that he did procure information from his father. The greater part of the marshal's political life passed before the birth, or during the infancy and boyhood, of the son: but there was one part of the facts which the viscount relates, of which he was the eye witness, and of which he derived the knowledge from his father. "J'ai veu, j'ai sceu partie des faits de M. de Tavannes, mon pere."[21] Now it so happens, that this part is that which comprehends the massacre. He was then attending his father at court: he was soliciting from the king an appointment to one of the offices held by the marshal; and he was actually employed in the Louvre on the very night of the massacre. All this I did not think it necessary to explain to my readers, particularly as my limits were so confined; and I have yet to learn, that my silence was any fraud on their credulity. But, adds the reviewer, "the father survived the massacre only eleven months, and the son, who was only eighteen years of age, passed a great part of the interval in Rochelle, at a distance from him, and did not finish the miscellaneous composition called the mémoires de Tavannes, till fifty years afterwards." At what period he finished the memoirs, or whether he did not write them long before he made the last corrections, is of little consequence. If the reviewer mean to assert that the viscount had few opportunities of consulting his father after the massacre, be it so: I shall not contradict him:

[21] Mém. de Tavannes, xxvi. Epit. dedicat. p. xxxi.

but if he intend to insinuate that he had no opportunity during the period of the massacre, I shall answer that such insinuation is opposed by the very declaration of the writer, and by the several passages, in which he details his own proceedings on that night of bloodshed and horror.[22]

Council before the Massacre. The next paragraph in the memoir describes briefly the council that was held preparatory to the massacre. Had my limits allowed it, I should have premised that the king, on his return from the admiral, sent despatches to every part of the kingdom, announcing the attempt on that nobleman's life, and promising prompt and ample justice on the offenders; that the next morning witnesses were examined before the privy council; that according to report, the horse on which the assassin escaped, was furnished by a servant of the house of Guise, but the arquebuse, which he left behind him, belonged to the guards of the duke of Anjou; that the huguenots paraded in arms before the hotel of Guise; that they threw out insinuations against the queen-mother and her favourite son; that Piles and Pardaillan did all but charge her with the crime to her face; and that the whole party had resolved to demand in a body, justice of the king the next morning.[23] Under these cir-

[22] Je sauvay Neufville, Bethunes, Baignac, et ayday fort à la Verdin. Mém. de Tavannes, xxvii. 271. Le Roy de Navarre et prince de Condé craintifs, aprés avoir essayé de parler à moi, qui ne leur osay respondere. Ibid. 272. Je vis partie des papiers de l'admiral chez mon pere, le roole de leurs hommes, leurs levées de deniers. Ibid. 276.

[23] Mémoires de l'estat, i. 280. 283. Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de France et de Navarre, tom. 52. p. 173. 175. 180. 181. Mémoires de Tavannes, tom. 27. p. 265. 266. 269. 270.

cumstances, agitated with the consciousness of guilt, and fearful of its consequences, Catharine assembled the secret council of her adherents, in which the massacre was resolved, as the only means of preventing vengeance, and the renewal of the war.[24]

Objections of the Reviewer. 1. But here the reviewer charges me with some secret and dishonest design, because, in mentioning the hour at which Charles gave his consent, I desert my former guide the duke of Anjou, and follow the account of his sister, the queen Margaret.—It has, however, always been considered the duty of historians, when the relations, though they agree in substance, disagree in minor circumstances, to prefer that which they think the most probable. It is true that Anjou says of the king, after he had given his consent, " il nous laissa dans son cabinet, ou nous avisames le reste du jour, le soir, et une bonne partie de la nuit." But I knew that royal authors sometimes express themselves loosely, and that this very passage ought not to be understood strictly according to the letter. For neither he himself, nor his mother remained all that time in the cabinet. To avoid suspicion, about four in the afternoon, he drove with the chevalier d'Angoulême through the streets of Paris,[25] and the queen-mother shewed herself publicly at the usual

[24] Le peril present, la Reyne en diverses craintes, la verification du coup, que l'on doubtoit s'esclaircir, la guerre ou l'execution presente pour l'empescher luy tournent dans la teste. Si elle se fust peu parer de la source de l'arquebusade, malaisément eut elle achevé ce à quoy l'evenement la contrainct; l'accident de la blessure au lieu de mort, les menaces forcent le conseil à la resolution de tuer tous les chefs. Tavannes, 267.

[25] Mémoires de l'estat, i. 283.

hours in the court.[26] For this reason I preferred, though with some hesitation, the account of Margaret, who says expressly that it was about nine or ten at night that the matter was broken to the king by the marshal de Retz, and that at his persuasion Charles joined the council. However, I acknowledge that there is much difficulty in reconciling the different narrations as to the time, and will not dispute, if any one prefer the earlier hour. It is a question of no moment: that, for which I contend is, that the king did not assist at the council for the purpose of deliberating on the execution of a plot, which he had been preparing for the two preceding

[26] At her "souper et coucher." Mémoires de Marguerite, 175. 179. As this princess was but just married to the king of Navarre, whose youth alone prevented him from being the head of the party, she was kept in ignorance of their design, though it had been communicated to her sister, the duchess of Lorraine. This occasioned the following interesting occurrence at the "coucher" of the queen-mother. Estant au coucher de la reine ma mere, assise sur un coffre, auprès de ma sœur de Lorraine, que je voyois fort triste, la reine ma mere parlant à quelques-uns, m'apperceust, et me dit que je m'en alasse coucher. Comme je faisois la reverence, ma sœur me prend par le bras, et m'arreste, et se prenant fort à pleurer, me dit: mon dieu, ma sœur, n'y allez pas. Ce qui m'effraya extrêmement. La Reine ma mere s'en apperceust, et appellant ma sœur se courrouça fort à elle, et luy defendit de me rien dire. Ma sœur luy dit, qu'il n'y avoit point d'apparence de m'envoyer sacrifier comme cela, et que sans doute s'ils découvroient quelque chose, ils se vengeroient de moy. La Reine ma mere répond, que, s'il plaisoit à dieu, je n'aurois point de mal: mais quoy que ce fut, il falloit que j'allase, de peur de leur faire soupçonner quelque chose. Je voyois bien qu'ils se contestoient, et n'entendoient (n'entendois) pas leurs paroles. Elle me commanda encore rudement que je m'en alasse coucher. Ma sœur fondant en larmes me dit bon soir, sans m'oser dire autre chose; et moy je m'en allay toute transie et éperdüe sans me pouvoir imaginer ce que j'avois à craindre. Mémoires, p. 179. 180.

years, but was led to it, that he might be prevailed upon to consent to a measure, which was suddenly proposed to him, and which in his own mind he disapproved. Of this we are assured by the duke of Anjou from his own knowledge, by Margaret from the express declaration of Charles.[27]

2. The reviewer maintains that "instead of passing two hours at an open balcony gazing at the stars (as Dr. Lingard pretends) the queen and her sons had two hours sleep before break of day, when they went to the balcony to *enjoy* the commencement of the massacre."[28] Bland and balmy sleep no doubt to persons in the expectation of such enjoyment! But I have yet to learn that "après avoir reposé seulement deux heures," necessarily implies actual sleep for that period; and I am sure, that I never thought of placing the royal party for two hours at a balcony gazing at the stars. If any one have so misunderstood me, the cause must be, that seeking to be concise, I have rendered my meaning obscure.[29]

The Massacre. To explain to my readers the real origin of the plot, was the principal object of the memoir: and, having accomplished that, I passed rapidly over the particulars of the massacre. The cavils of the reviewer, as they contradict not the substance of my statement, can have but little claim to attention: but I must be allowed to notice

[27] Mémoires, p. 173. Mém. de Villeroy, ii. 72. [28] Rev. 102.

[29] I should observe, that where I am made to say that the king went to the balcony with his mother and brothers, the *s* in the last word is an error of the press. The reviewer might have observed that I have no where so much as hinted that the duke of Alençon had any share in the transaction.

his ingenious insinuation, that under an &c. I endeavoured to conceal what I dared not transcribe: whereas he was perfectly aware that the words omitted were such, that the text itself would naturally suggest their meaning to the reader: "de prendre armes ny prisonniers sans son congé." If there were any thing mysterious in these words, why did he not quote them? Or why did he tell his readers to judge what was concealed under them from a passage which he did quote, but which was taken from a different place, and was part of the king's answer to a question put to him in parliament by Pibrac, the attorney-general?[30]

The Character of Charles. He proceeds to detail a long succession of anecdotes, for the purpose of displaying the sanguinary disposition attributed to Charles. The credulity of the reviewer in this instance is truly edifying: but he should have remembered, that tales fabricated at a time, when men were maddened with rage and revenge, will be received with distrust by the sober judgment of the reader. They may grace the pages of a review, but can claim no place in legitimate history.[31] I

[30] La Popelinière, ii. 67.

[31] The reviewer has omitted one of these fabrications, which, were it a genuine document, would decide at once the controversy between us. A huguenot writer has preserved a letter, which he assures us, was sent by the queen mother to Strozzi, who commanded 6000 men in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, *in April*, with a strict injunction not to open it till the 24th of August. (Mémoires, de l'estat, i. 220.) The following are the contents. "Strossy. Je vous avertis que jourd'huy 24. d'Aoust, l'Amiral et tous les huguenots, qui estoyent ici avec luy, ont esté tuez. Partant avisez diligement à vous rendre maistre de la Rochelle: et faitez aux huguenots, qui vous tomberont entre les mains le mesme, que nous avons fait à ceux-ci. Gardez vous

shall not notice them in particular; but shall oppose to them a few undeniable testimonies, which will disclose the true state of the royal mind before, during, and after the massacre.

1. In the memoir I mentioned, on the credit of the duke of Anjou, the visible reluctance with which Charles had given his consent. The same is asserted from his own words by his sister, queen Margaret.[32] If we believe the protestant writer of the Mémoires de l'estat, his indecision was to the last the cause of alarm to the conspirators, and Catharine had recourse to all her arts, "to screw his courage to the sticking place." Accompanied by her femme de chambre, she went to his apartment about midnight, and took him with her to the council; and afterwards ordered the signal to be given before the appointed time, through fear that he might revoke his consent.[33]

2. While Charles was standing with his mother and brother at the balcony waiting for the signal, they heard the report of a pistol. The sound threw them into such agitation, that a messenger was instantly despatched in the king's name to the duke

bien d'y faire faute, autant que craignez de desplaire au Roy, monsieur mon fils, et à moy. Catharine." This most impudent forgery has not at present any apologists; but I have mentioned it, that the reader may judge what credit is due to the reports and fabrications of the time.

[32] A ce que je luy ai depuis ouy dire à luy-mesme, il y eust beaucoup de peine à l'y faire consentir; et sans ce qu'on luy fit entendre, qu'il y alloit de sa vie et de son estat, il ne l'eust jamais fait. Mémoires, lii. 173.

[33] Mémoires de l'estat, i. 285. 286. Thuan. iii. 128.

of Guise with a revocation of the former order. He arrived too late.[34]

3. We are told by Tavannes, who was present, that Charles and his mother, during the massacre, remained trembling with terror in the Louvre.[35]

4. Sully assures us that it was observed as early as the evening of the 24th, that the king was seized with an involuntary shuddering, as often as he heard any one boasting in his presence of the bloody feats, which had been performed in the tragedy.[36]

5. D'Aubigné, another protestant, and familiarly acquainted with Charles, asserts from his own knowledge, and the testimony of some of the first personages in France, that during the two years which he lived after the St. Bartholomew, the king's sleep was often interrupted by starts and groans, and exclamations bordering on despair; that he frequently declared his abhorrence of the deed, that he gradually removed from his councils those who had advised it, and that he even sought to free himself from the presence of the queen-mother, by proposing to her a visit to the duke of Anjou, then king of Poland.[37]

[34] Ne scaurois dire s'il offensa quelqu'un : bien sai-je que le son nous blessa tous trois si avant dans l'esprit, qu'il offensa nos sens et notre jugement, épris de terreur et d'appréhension. Mémoires de Villeroy, ii. 76.

[35] Le sang et la mort courent les rues en telle horreur, que leurs majestéz mesmes, qui en estoient les auteurs, ne se pouvoient garder de peur dans le Louvre. Mémoires, xxvii. 271.

[36] Dés le soir du 24 Aoust, on s'apperçut qu'il frémissoit malgré lui, au recit de mille traits de cruauté, d'ont chacun venoit se faire honneur en sa présence. Mémoires de Sully, i. 70. edit. 1752.

[37] Depuis la St. Barthelemy ce prince n'avoit repos qu' entrerompu de tressaux et de gemissemens, qui se terminoient en reniemens tendans au desespoir . . . . comme il detestoit fort souvent le massacre,

If the reader give credit to these testimonies, and they are of the highest order which the subject admits, he will be at no loss to form his opinion of the opprobrious tales so ostentatiously put forward in the review, or of the critical impartiality of him, by whose industry they were collected.

The subsequent Massacres. The barbarities exercised at Paris were followed as a precedent in several other places. "The sufferers," I said, "believed that, as they were not protected, they were persecuted by the command of the court. But the memory of Charles needs not to be loaded with additional infamy. There is no evidence that the other massacres had his sanction or permission, and, when we consider that they happened at very different periods, and were confined to places in which the blood of the catholics had been wantonly spilt during the preceding insurrections, we shall attribute them rather to sudden ebullitions of popular vengeance than to any previously concerted and general plan."

To this observation the reviewer of course objects. He maintains that the succeeding enormities in the provinces grew out of the orders transmitted from the king, and in support of his opinion produces the evidence of several writers. To them I may be allowed to oppose the following documents and remarks.

Public Orders. 1. Despatches dated the 24th of August were sent to all the superior authorities in the kingdom. In these the king attributes the

il avoit desja esloigné des affaires ceux qui luy avoient donné ce mauvais conseil, voire mesme jusqu' à vouloir envoyer la Reyne mere. D'Aubigné, ii. 129.

recent massacre at Paris to the ancient quarrel between the house of Guise and the admiral, orders proclamation to be every where made that the articles of the late pacification should be strictly observed, and that no man should on any pretence take up arms or offer violence to others, and instructs his officers to put down every tumult, and to provide for the security of his towns and castles. These despatches were accompanied with a form of proclamation prohibiting unlawful arms, and all assemblies or proceedings in violation of the late articles of peace.[38]

Within three days, on August 27th, we meet with other despatches of a similar tendency, with orders to punish severely all persons, who should attempt to raise tumults similar to that which had taken place in Paris.[39]

On the 28th the king publishes a declaration that, to preserve his own life, he has been obliged to take summary justice on the admiral, and the admiral's adherents. In the same instrument he gives to all his subjects of the reformed religion the assurance of his protection, and forbids any injury to be offered to them under pain of death, but at the same time, to prevent suspicion and bloodshed, prohibits them from assembling for the purpose of divine worship, till he have provided for the tranquillity of the kingdom.[40]

With this instrument were despatched, on the 30th, two other letters. One ordered the declaration to be published with the usual formalities, required the magistrates to forbid all assemblies of reli-

[38] Mem. de l'estat, i. 296—300.
[39] Ibid. 319. [40] Ibid. 322.

gionists for worship, or any other purpose, "afin d'oter toute doute et suspicion que pour ce l'on pourroit concevoir;" and authorized them to punish the disobedient as rebels and enemies of the throne: the other instructed the governors to issue letters of protection to protestant families, which should be as valid as if they had been signed by the king himself, to execute prompt and exemplary justice on all catholics who should presume to injure any protestant, and to dissuade by every argument in their power the protestants from continuing their religious assemblies, because "il est tout certain, que cela est cause d'empirer et augmenter les dits emotions."[41]

Verbal Orders—Such were the public orders and proclamations issued by the king; which appear to acquit him of all participation in the subsequent massacres. The reviewer, however, in support of his opinion, appeals to secret and verbal orders of a contrary tendency, supposed to have been issued at the same time. That verbal orders were issued, and that they were unfavourable to the huguenot party, is true: but this circumstance is not sufficient to support the view which my opponent has taken of the subject. 1. For it should be observed that the public orders were general: they extended to the whole kingdom: the verbal orders were addressed only to particular persons. This is plain from the following instance:—The baron de Gordes, governor of Dauphiné, having received a written order revoking all verbal orders, returned for answer on the 5th of September, that he had not received any verbal order at all. The king replied

[41] Mém. de l'estat, i. 354. 372.

on the 14th that it was a matter of no consequence, as the verbal orders had been addressed only to certain persons. Dont ne vous mettrez en aucune peine: car elles s'adressoient seulement a quelques uns, qui s'estoyent trouvéz pres de moy.[42]

2. What was the purport of these verbal orders? By them, as far as I can learn, the king's officers, in those places where the huguenots were numerous, received instructions to make themselves the stronger party, "de faire ensorte qu'ils demeurassent les plus forts," and to adopt the most prompt and vigorous measures for the prevention of any insurrection, in consequence of the late proceedings in Paris. Thus we read in the memoirs of Jean Philippi, that on Saturday the 30th, the courier arrived at Montpellier; the troops were immediately put under arms, sentinels were placed at the doors of the protestant inhabitants, and the most factious were put in confinement. Thus matters remained till the 8th of September, when the royal declaration of the 28th was published.[43] We find the same precautions taken at Macon, Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, and other places. I am, however, aware that many writers have given to these orders a more sanguinary character. But there is reason to believe, as the reader will shortly see, that they wrote not from

[42] Mém. de l'estat, i. 405.

[43] Le Samedi passa par Montpellier un courier du roy aportant la nouvelle de la S. Barthélemi: on prit d'abord les armes, et on mit garde aux portes de ceux de la religion, et on emprisonna les plus factieux....Le 8 Septembre on publia une ordonnance du Roi du 28 Aout, qui vouloit que ses sujets protestans vécussent en surêté, et defendoit les prêches et assemblées. He adds that en Languedoc il n'y eut pay le moindre excés par la bonne conduite de Joyeuse. Mémoires, xlvi. 406. 407.

actual knowledge, but conjectured the cause from the event: and even the more ancient and best informed among them are careful to confine their assertions to certain particular places, and to the execution of certain obnoxious individuals.[44]

3. How long did these orders remain in force? That they were revoked we know from the reviewer himself, who refers to two manuscript copies of the revocation. J'ai revoqué et revoque tout cela, ne voulant que par vous ni autre en soit aucune chose executée. It is of some importance to ascertain the date of this revocation, which the reviewer has by some oversight omitted, and which I shall therefore supply from the printed copy.[45] It was dated the 30th of August, and accompanied a circular order for the discharge of all persons, with a few exceptions, who had been confined in consequence of the verbal orders. I said that the date was of importance, because—1°, the massacres which afterwards took place, must be attributed to some other cause; and 2°, because that cause, the excitement and rage of the people, was as likely to lead to such atrocities before as after the revocation. If it required no order of the sovereign in one case, neither did it in the other.

[44] Thus we are told in the Mémoires de l'estat, that the orders were sent to the governors of the towns known to contain considerable numbers of religionists: Le conseil secret avoit despeché lettres aux gouverneurs des villes *remarquées* (ou il y avoit nombre de gens de la religion,) pour saccager ceux de la religion: (i. 327.) and by Tavannes that the orders were to put only the factious and their leaders to death, but that the passions of the people could not be restrained. Plusieurs villes du Royaume tuent non seulement les chefs et factieux, comme il leur avoit été commandé; ains se gouvernent en cette effrenée licence Parisienne. xxvii. 274.

[45] Mémoires de l'estat, 355. 322.

4. To judge of general assertions we ought to descend to particulars. Now, with respect to the governors of provinces, I cannot find that any outrage of consequence was perpetrated by their command, or with their connivance in any part of France.[46] It is for my opponents, who suppose that they received orders to put to death the protestants within their respective jurisdictions, to account for their apathy and disobedience. I know that many have been highly praised on this very account; but I do not believe that they were entitled to such praise. Among the number is reckoned the baron de Gordes, whom I have already mentioned; we have even his supposed answer, that he would not obey: he could not believe that such inhuman orders emanated from the king. Yet the whole is a fiction. From the letter of Charles, published in the Mémoires de l'estat, it is plain that Gordes had never received any order of that description, whether written or verbal, and, consequently, had not the opportunity of deserving the praise of disobedience.[47] Were sufficient means of inquiry

[46] In Picardy and Bretagne the huguenots were not molested: the governors of the Isle of France, of Champagne, Burgundy, Auvergne, Languedoc, Guienne, Dauphiné, and Provence are praised for the protection which they afforded them: and those of Berry, Poitou, and Brie, are mentioned without any censure, whence the same may be presumed of them. The only other governor whose name I have seen noticed, is Tanneguy le Veneur, who opposed to the best of his power, but in vain, the disturbances in Normandy. De Serres, iii. 190. Mém. de l'estat, i. 360, 374, 406, 407. Thuan. iii. 141. 4. 5. 6.

[47] Gordes is praised for his disobedience by d'Aubigné, De Thou, and the author of the Mémoires de l'estat, i. 360. who adds that he excused himself repeatedly, 406. Yet the king's letter in p. 404,

afforded, it is not improbable that the other governors would be found equally unconscious with de Gordes of that merit, which has drawn from historians such high encomiums on their conduct.

5. From the governors of provinces we may proceed to the governors of towns: for it is to them chiefly, if not solely, that the sanguinary orders, supposing any to have been issued, must have been addressed. Now, out of all the towns in France there are only seven, Meaux, la Charité, Orleans, Saumur, Angers, Lyons, and Troyes,[48] in which massacres took place before the revocation of the verbal orders, and the proclamation of the public order of the 28th of August; and yet in these seven it must be confessed to be extremely doubtful whether the outrages were in reality provoked by any orders from the king. In one instance this has been inferred, merely because the troubles began the day after the arrival of a courier: in the cases of Orleans and Troyes, no orders are pretended; and in the other four the assertion is indeed made, but unsupported by satisfactory authority. In most, if not in all, the true

shews that Gordes had received no other orders than those of the twenty-fourth, according to which he had secured all the places in his government of Dauphiné. The same may perhaps be inferred of the count de Tende, from the same letter. The story of the orders brought to him and his successor, by la Mole, is in the Mémoires de l'estat, 406, and in Castelnau (ii. 15.) taken from the collection of Peiresc. It is liable to so many objections from dates and contradictions that it deserves no credit.

[48] The king's proclamation arrived at Troyes on the 3d of September; but I have included that town in the number, because it was not published till the 5th, and the murders took place in the interval. Mém. de l'estat, i. 337—342.

origin was probably that, which is assigned by De Thou as the cause of the massacre at Orleans, the excited state of the public mind, and the recollection of past injuries, which was hourly renewed by the sight of the churches formerly laid in ruins through the zeal or resentment of the huguenots. Summa Aureliani intemperies fuit, quod, semel atque iterum a Protestantibus occupatum, fœdis eversorum templorum ruinis in oculos irruentibus animos plebis in ultionem, recentibus adhuc odiis, accendebat.[49]

6. The perpetration, however, of these outrages induced the king to complain on the 14th of Sept. that though he had published his declaration of the 28th of Aug. and signified his will that it should be strictly obeyed, yet to his great displeasure similar atrocities continue to be committed: wherefore he repeats his former prohibition, orders the transgressors to be punished with a severity which may prove a lesson to others, and declares his resolution of calling to account all those who shall dissemble, or connive at such excesses.[50]

In another letter to the duke of Guise of the 18th, he asserts that he will compel obedience ; that his orders shall not be disobeyed with impunity, and assures his cousin, that the most agreeable news which he can send him, will be the punishment of some of those who transgress his commands.[51]

[49] Thuan. iii. 141.

[50] Estant bien mon intention de les chastier comme il appartient, et de m'en prendre à ceux qui voudront user de connivence et dissimulation. Mém. de l'estat, i. 405.

[51] Vous asseurant, mon cousin, que la plus agreeable nouvelle que je puisse apprendre de vous, ce sera d'ouyr dire, que vous avez faict quelque bon chastiment de ceux de qui j'auray esté desobey. Ibid, 416.

7. But it was in vain that he multiplied his despatches and complaints. He was unable to govern the vast machine which he had set in motion. The fury of the people was not to be restrained by the authority of the sovereign. In defiance of the royal prohibitions, similar disturbances continued to break out in different places: in the month of September murders were committed at Bourges, Rouen, Romans, and Toulouse; and it was not before the middle of October, after the massacre at Bourdeaux, that the popular fury was spent, and tranquillity generally restored. Of all these excesses, the responsibility must in some measure rest with the king, inasmuch as, had he not consented to the Parisian massacre, they would never have happened: but few, I trust, who have weighed the preceding remarks, will believe that they were perpetrated by his order, or with his approbation. In effect, the different times at which they took place, including the lapse of six weeks, shew that they proceeded not from any previously concerted plan; and the fact, that they were confined to certain towns, in which similar atrocities had been exercised by the huguenots on the catholic inhabitants, points out their real origin, in the hatred and resentment of the people.

Number of the slain. With regard to the number of the slain, little reliance can be placed on the conflicting conjectures of historians. We all know that the mind in a state of excitement, is prone to exaggeration; that in such cases tens are speedily multiplied into hundreds, and hundreds into thousands. But with this I have little concern. I took Caveyrac for my guide, and to Caveyrac I referred

the reader as my sole authority.[52] It seems, however, that in treating the subject, the reviewer himself is infected with the spirit of amplification. He cannot quote my words "that the protestant martyrologist procured lists of the names," without representing me as saying that the martyrologist "used uncommon industry, and took extraordinary pains, to procure such lists."[53] But though I said it not, I have no doubt that extraordinary pains were taken. Not only are the names of the victims mentioned in the enumeration of the slain, but the occupations which they followed, the streets in which they lived, the very signs which hung over their doors, are frequently added. Could this have been done unless more than common industry had been employed?

Conference of Catharine with the Earl of Worcester. When the earl of Worcester who had come as ambassador extraordinary, to the king of France, had his audience of leave of the queen-mother, she asked him the reason why the queen of England behaved with so much coolness towards her son and her. The earl, having first been prompted by Walsingham, the resident ambassador, in English, assigned the massacre as the principal cause. "My "lady mother," says Charles, in a letter, detailing the conversation to La Motte Fenelon, his ambassador in England, "replied, that in regard to what had "occurred in these latter days, Walsingham must "have seen how it happened by the fault of the "chiefs of those, who remained here. For, when "the late admiral was treacherously wounded at

[52] Hist. viii. [53] Review.

" Notre Dame, he knew the affliction it threw us
" into (fearful it might have occasioned great
" troubles in this kingdom,) and the diligence we
" used to verify judicially whence it proceeded: and
" the verification was nearly finished, when they
" were so forgetful as to raise a conspiracy to at-
" tempt the lives of myself, my lady mother, and
" my brothers, and endanger the whole state: which
" was the cause that to avoid this I was compelled,
" to my great regret, to permit what had happened
" in this city; but, as he had witnessed, I gave
" orders to stop, as soon as possible, this fury of the
" people, and to place every one in repose. On
" this the sieur Walsingham replied to my lady and
" mother, that the exercise of the said religion had
" been interdicted in this kingdom. To which she
" also answered, that this had not been done but for
" a good and holy purpose: namely, that the fury
" of the catholic people might the sooner be allayed:
" who else had been reminded of the past calamities,
" and would again have been let loose against those
" of the said religion, had they continued the
" preachings (public assemblies of worship) in this
" kingdom. Giving him clearly and pointedly to
" understand, that what is done here, is much the
" same as what has been done, and is now practised
" by the queen, his mistress, in her kingdom. For
" she permits but the exercise of one religion, though
" there are many of her people who are of another:
" and has also during her reign punished those of
" her subjects whom she found seditious and rebel-
" lious. It is true that this has been done by the
" laws; but I indeed could not act in that manner.
" For, finding myself in such imminent peril, and

"the conspiracy against me and mine and my "kingdom ready to be executed, I had no time to "arraign and try in open justice, as much I wished, "but was constrained, to my very great regret, to "strike the blow in what has been done in this "city."[54]

I do not transcribe this passage for the purpose of inferring from it that the admiral had really conspired against the king, (though Charles had been taught to believe it,) but to point out to the reader three things, corroborative of my preceding statement, for the truth of which Catharine appeals to the personal knowledge of Walsingham: that a real inquiry had been set on foot to discover the origin of the attempt on the admiral's life, that the subsequent massacre was provoked by the intemperate conduct of his adherents, and that the king, as soon as possible, gave orders to stop the fury of the populace. Walsingham, from his residence in Paris, and his relations with the chiefs of the huguenots, must have known the truth. Can we then believe that Catharine would have had the face to appeal to him, or that he, when thus called upon, would have silently acquiesced, had her statements been untrue?

[54] See D'Israeli's second series of the Curiosities of Literature, (ii. 409, 410.) who has translated the greater part of the original despatch.

CHAPTER II.

Murder of Ligneroles—League at Bayonne—Misstatement of the Reviewer—Massacre at Vassy—Memorial of Tavannes—Charles and Alessandrino—Intercepted Letters—Inconsistency of the Court—Objection drawn from the attempt on the Admiral's life solved by the Reviewer—Remarks on that Solution—Misstatement—Testimony of Chateaubriand.

I FLATTER myself that in the preceding chapter I have proved to the satisfaction of the reader, 1. that the charges against me of ignorance, and bad faith, and misrepresentation, have been rashly and groundlessly advanced; 2. that the hypothesis of a preconcerted plot is unsupported by satisfactory authority, and liable, on the score of improbability, to the most formidable objections; 3. and that the massacres in the provinces were confined to a few places, and originated principally, if not entirely, in the vindictive passions of the people. Here the controversy between the reviewer and myself ought to close. But it has pleased him to prolong it, and I see no reason why I should shrink from the contest.

Murder of Ligneroles. Having, therefore, reached the end of the memoir, he abandons the St. Bar-

tholomew for a while, under the pretence of discovering and exposing my numerous misrepresentations in other parts of French history. With this view he falls back from the year 1572 to 1571, and charges me with insinuating that the assassination of Ligneroles was the work of the French protestants. Whether my words furnish any foundation for the charge, I will not determine: but that I meant not to convey any such insinuation, I shall affirm. My object was simply to state the fact of the murder, and, at the same time, avoid the question, who were its authors. The latter is still a subject of controversy among the French critics: to the writer and reader of English history it was a matter of no interest or importance.[1]

League of Bayonne. Pursuing his retrograde course, the reviewer comes next to the year 1565, and takes his stand at the conferences at Bayonne. In that city the king, with the queen-mother, met his sister Isabella of Spain, accompanied by the duke of Alva. The huguenots (genus hominum suspicax, says de Thou,[2]) would not believe that this was a mere family meeting: such personages, they argued, must have in view some more important object than to see one another; and that object could be nothing less than the destruction of the reformed faith. A private gallery connected the

[1] It took place in the year 1571, when the court was at Bourgueil. De Thou says that many of those, who were there, even protestants as well as catholics, as he afterwards learned from themselves, were persuaded that the king at that time had never thought of the massacre, which followed in the next year. Thuan. iii. 66.

[2] Thuan. ii. 435.

apartments of the two queens, and here, it was said, political subjects were discussed after the amusements of the day. The meeting at length broke up, and immediately a report was circulated that a league had been concluded between the two crowns for the extermination of the French and Flemish protestants. Of this supposed league, however, the huguenot leaders produced no other proof than their own suspicions: suspicions to which they themselves gave but little credit, if we may judge from the facility with which, on more than one occasion, they trusted themselves to the mercy of the court.[3] Seven years later followed the St. Bartholomew: the survivors immediately exclaimed that their former suspicions had now been verified; and this opinion was adopted by that class of writers who attribute nothing to the sudden impulse of passion, or the unforeseen necessity of circumstances, but consider every event as the result of political sagacity and preparatory arrangement.

"Dr. Lingard *boasts*," says the reviewer, that 'of this league no satisfactory evidence has ever been produced.' If he mean that the articles of the treaty have never been published, he is in the right. They were probably never reduced to writing. But, if the concurrent opinions of the very best writers of the age, catholic as well as protestant, be admitted as an evidence of an historical fact, there can be no doubt that plans were discussed and measures projected at Bayonne, for the destruction of heresy in France."[4]

[3] Particularly at Moulins, in 1566. See also the remarks of Montluc in the Mémoires de l'estat, ii. 63.

[4] Rev. 119.

Of the boasting here attributed to me, the reader will find no trace in my pages. I simply made the assertion: and of its truth I wish for no better proof than is here furnished by my adversary. He begins, indeed, by talking of a treaty and the articles of a treaty; but, as he proceeds, he is careful to lower his pretensions, and concludes with a promise to shew that "plans were discussed and measures projected at Bayonne."—But "plans discussed and measures projected" are not a treaty. Granting that he has proved so much, still he will not have proved the point in question, still he will have produced no satisfactory evidence of the supposed league at Bayonne. It will, therefore, be unnecessary for me to make any observations on the passages which he has quoted, liable as they are to numerous objections. For my purpose it is sufficient that by his own confession, they do no more than shew that the dangers which threatened Charles from the insurrections of the huguenots, and those which threatened Philip from the designs of the Gueux, formed the frequent subject of deliberation between the parties. In such circumstances this was natural. But the mutual communication of advice, and the persuasion that in such cases it was for the interest of each crown to support the other, cannot in any sense of the words be said to constitute a league or treaty.[5]

[5] But how did the secret of these conferences transpire? According to some by the agency of a little dog, who stole a letter out of the cabinet of the duchess of Guise. But this, though a very interesting story, the reviewer has suppressed. He prefers the story of the young prince of Bearn, who heard the duke of Alva say that he preferred the jole of a salmon to a hundred frogs. The prince was twelve years old,

Evidence of Philip of Spain. Dissatisfied with the dubious testimony of historians, I made it my endeavour to seek out more authentic evidence. In the correspondence of Walsingham, I found a denial on the part of Catharine, that any political business had been transacted at Bayonne: but this I did not mention, because she was interested in the denial. In Strada I discovered the abstract of a letter from Philip of Spain to the archduchess Margaret, who governed the Low Countries, in which the former professed to give to the latter an account of the conferences at Bayonne. He says, "that the Spanish queen, having entreated her brother and mother to apply some remedy to the dangerous state of religion in France, found them extremely well disposed towards the counsels which were discussed; and that several marriages, and an alliance against the Turks were proposed, but nothing was settled, the queen declining every other subject but that of religion, which at the suggestion of Alva, she again recommended to her brother and mother, and the meeting broke up."[6] If we consider to whom and by whom this letter was written, we must admit it as authentic evidence, and in that case it is most evident that no political treaty whatever was concluded.

Misstatement of the Reviewer. In a short note at the foot of the page, I had briefly mentioned this letter, in proof of my assertion: and the reviewer snatches the opportunity to charge me with the guilt of suppressing some of these particulars: as

and a sagacious boy for his age; otherwise he would never have divined the secret meaning of the duke, but have supposed that he was talking of the dishes on the table.—See Rev. 120.

[6] Strada, 109.

if it were the duty of the historian to convert his notes into dissertations, and to fill his pages with every trifling circumstance, which a captious opponent may think favourable to his own hypothesis. Nor is this all. If we may believe him, I have suppressed the important information that "the historian who procured this correspondence, was inclined to believe that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was concerted at this meeting." Now I must beg of the reader to notice the very ingenious process by which this imaginary suppression is proved. "The historian," says he, "adds that many have thought the massacre of the heretics at Paris, executed seven years afterwards, was planned at this interview; 'id quod mihi neque abnuere neque affirmare promptum fuerit, potius inclinat animus ut credam.'"[7] This, at first view, has a plausible appearance: but a reference to the original will instantly expose the fraud. The words are—Id, quod mihi neque abnuere neque affirmare promptum fuerit. Potius inclinat animus ut credam, et mutua Gallorum in Belgium, atque hinc in Galliam adversus religionis principumque rebelles auxilia, quæ sæpius dehinc submissa vidimus, et Caroli regis cum Elizabetha Maximiliani imperatoris filia matrimonium, quinto post anno celebratum, ab eo colloquio provenisse.[8] Now, if this passage be compared with the

[7] Review, 118.

[8] Strada, de Bello Belgico, lib. iv. p. 109. Romæ 1640. This is the best edition. I know not whether it be the edition quoted by the reviewer, but the number of the page is the same. I have consulted several other editions, which agree both in words and punctuation. The same may be said of the old English and French translations.

quotation by the reviewer, it will be found that, to effect his purpose, he has taken the last of the two sentences, and divided it into unequal portions. Of these, the first and shorter he adds to the sentence preceding, as one of its component parts: of the second, which after the division retains no meaning, he does not make mention: he conceals the mutilated remains from the eye of the reader, though he has carefully surveyed them himself, and discovered that they include a hint of mutual assistance. The contrivance is ingenious: Strada is made to say the very reverse of that which he really said: he is made to say that he inclines to adopt the opinion of those, who believe that the Parisian massacre was concerted at Bayonne; whereas, he really says that, instead of adopting that opinion, he is inclined to believe that two other things, viz. the occasional supply of aid from one crown to the other, and the marriage of Charles to the daughter of the emperor, were the real effects of the conference. To characterize this most singular perversion of testimony, I shall not borrow any of those offensive terms which are of such frequent use, in the reviewer's vocabulary. I will not call it carelessness or ignorance, bad faith or misrepresentation, indifference to historical accuracy, or an attempt to deceive the reader. Perhaps it was no more than an oversight, occasioned by precipitancy, by that eagerness for victory, which so often blinds and misleads the judgment. But, be it what it may, the detection will teach him this useful lesson, that it becomes the man, who has to crave forbearance for his own delinquencies, to view with a more indulgent eye the failings, whether they be real or only imaginary, of others.

Affray at Vassy. Continuing to move backwards, the reviewer comes to the sanguinary tumult at Vassy, in the year 1562. I casually mentioned it, not in the body of the work, but in a short note, and to that note he opposes three objections. 1. He upbraids me with calling it only an affray: but then at the same time he suppresses that I call it also a massacre. 2. He will not allow that it was provoked by the religionists themselves.—The authorities are indeed contradictory: but the reviewer acknowledges that, on the part of the duke of Guise, the affair was accidental, and I demand no more. 3. I said, that the Calvinists at Nismes began to arm on the 19th of Feb. at the sound of the drum, and defeated de Flassans on March 6th. The reviewer, from Menard's history of Nismes, contends that, "if these troops were raised by beat of drum, at Nismes, before the *affair* of Vassy, it was under a commission from the king; and, if an action was fought at Bargols, it was by order of his lieutenant general." There cannot, however, be a doubt that this was an arming of the huguenots. Crussol, the lieutenant, was known to be their friend, Cardet, to whom he gave the commission, had distinguished himself in their service, and the men, whom he raised, were all of them huguenots, for the express purpose of fighting against the catholics. Crussol, having collected his force, marched to reduce Flassans, the first consul of Aix. I shall not trouble the reader with the merits of the quarrel between them. Of the two contemporary historians, the catholic Perussis is positive that Flassans was in the right, the protestant Regnault that he was in the wrong. He retired before the superior number of the enemy:

his last defence, the wall of Barjols, was scaled; and three or nine hundred men (for the authorities differ,) perished by the swords of the conquerors. When Crussol began this enterprise, he could boast of the royal commission; for Catharine was at that time united with the huguenot leaders: when he had gained the victory, he was deprived of his office, for she had then passed over to the catholics. But the former rewarded his services: they appointed him, in opposition to the court, governor of Languedoc.[9] —The truth is, outrages were daily committed by both parties; and, if the Prince of Condé selected the massacre at Vassy as a justification of hostilities, it was because it enabled him to throw the blame on his rival the duke of Guise, who was accidentally implicated in that affair.

Proof of preconcerted plot by the reviewer. The reviewer concludes thus: "We are tired, and so probably are our readers, with tracing Dr. Lingard through his numerous mistakes and misrepresentations; and, if the instances of carelessness and bad faith, which we have collected from so small a portion of his book, are insufficient to convince them that truth is neglected in his history, and that prejudice and partiality usurp its place, we despair of producing conviction."[10] On the arrogant and insulting tone of this paragraph I shall make no comment. The review and the vindication are now before the public; and the public must judge between us. One thing is sufficiently apparent, that in the midst of his imaginary triumph, the reviewer betrays symptoms

9 Rev. 123. Menard, iv. 336. Thuan. ii. 233, 306. Perrin, Mem. xliii. 480.

10 Rev. 125.

of considerable uneasiness. He is still aware that he has to answer the question, why, in his hypothesis, the attempt was made on the single life of the admiral, at a time when the destruction of the whole body of the huguenots was in contemplation: and it is with evident reluctance that he prepares to grapple with the difficulty. Forgetful that he has already "tired himself and tired his readers," he still compels them to travel through no fewer than five-and-twenty closely printed pages, before he will allow them a glimpse of the promised land. It is not till he has disposed of a variety of preliminary questions, that he will venture to propound his solution. I shall follow him in his fretful fitful course: but my progress shall be rapid, and my remarks confined to a few of the most important subjects.

His misrepresentation of the memoir of Tavannes. 1. To prove the existence of a preconcerted plot to get possession of the chiefs of the huguenots, the reviewer appeals to a confidential communication made by Tavannes to the king in 1571. "The marshall," he says, "there discusses in what manner hostilities are likely to be renewed. He pronounces that the war will re-commence by one party attempting to seize on the chief persons of the opposite side, and recommends various precautionary measures to the king and his brothers, to guard them from sudden attack. With respect to the huguenots, he observes, that to surprise the places they possess, to extinguish their religion, or to break their alliances with foreign powers, is impossible, 'Ainsi, il n'y a moyen que de prendre les chefs tout à la fois, pour y mettre un fin.' 'Les choses,' he adds, 'sont en bon train pour venir au dessus des

affaires, pourvu que l'on ne se laisse attraper : et leur faut tenir parole, pour ne leur donner occasion de prendre les armes.' "[11]

This passage is a most valuable specimen of the art of the reviewer. By bringing into juxta-position passages which lie at a distance from each other, and by converting the premises into the conclusion, and the conclusion into the premises, he has contrived to communicate to the memoir of Tavannes a meaning which was never contemplated by that statesman. His object was to warn the king of the danger, and to propose precautions against the possibility of a surprise. In the preface he remarks, that the exhaustion of the two parties will compel them to observe the articles of pacification, though, to judge from experience, there can be little doubt that either of them will seize a favourable opportunity, if any such should offer, of putting an end to the contest at once. Now, nothing can be so likely to effect this, as for one of the parties to make prisoners of the chiefs of the other: for it is as impossible for the huguenots to make themselves masters of the whole kingdom, as for the royalists to surprise the places of the huguenots, reduce their religion, and break their foreign alliances. This then, the capture of the chiefs of one party by the other, is the only means of putting an end to the contest for ever: now that the royalists should obtain possession of the huguenot chiefs is out of the question: they are always on their guard. But let not the king deceive himself: it will be easy for the huguenots to obtain possession of the royal family, unless precautions are employed. For there is no place, particularly in

[11] Rev. 127.

the vicinity of Paris, where they cannot collect within twenty-four hours, seven or eight hundred horsemen, besides their adherents in attendance on the court, or resident in the capital. After this preface, he details his plan for keeping on all occasions so large a force in the neighbourhood of the court, as may render a surprise impracticable; and then concludes by observing, that the king is now in the way of getting over his difficulties, if he does not allow himself to be surprised. He must keep faith with the huguenots, that they may not have a pretext to arm in their own defence, but that he may have time to arm before them: for if he have time, it is certain that they will be continually beaten. The only danger is in a surprise: that would be certain ruin; but against that the plan which he has proposed, will prove a safeguard.[12]

This is the substance of the memoir, and I have given it at some length, that the reader may observe the ingenuity with which the reviewer has misrepresented its meaning, in the passage which I have already quoted from him; and may admire the boldness with which he proceeds to assert, that "the policy here recommended by Tavannes, is precisely that which the court is charged by its enemies with having followed; viz. to quiet the suspicions of the huguenots by a faithful execution of the treaty, and to take advantage of the confidence inspired by that

[12] Mémoires, xxvii. 198. I have omitted the marshal's plan, because it has no relation to the present controversy. Though, for the sake of brevity, I have given the substance of the preface and conclusion, instead of translating the very words, I have no doubt that I have every where faithfully preserved his meaning.

conduct, to bring together and secure their chiefs."[13] Nothing can be more plain than that Tavannes anticipated no such thing as the possibility of bringing together and securing the chiefs. The advantage which he expected from the faithful execution of the treaty, was the opportunity of being the first in arms, which he was confident would give the victory to the king in every succeeding engagement. "Car si sa majesté a ce loisir (de lever les armes premierement,) c'est chose seure qu'ils seront toujours battus."[14]

His credulity. On this imaginary foundation, the pretended advice of Tavannes, the reviewer begins to rear his system, with the aid "of the best informed and most judicious of the *Italian* historians," and in particular of his beloved Capilupi. Why Italian historians? Why not French? But he must be allowed to select his fellow labourers from what country he pleases. Of Capilupi, he tells us, that "he seems to have had his information from the persons most deeply connected with the contrivance and execution of the tragedy."[15] So it may *seem* to him: to me the work itself proves that Capilupi neither possessed any personal knowledge of the supposed plot, nor derived his information from any of the devisers of the tragedy. The news had reached Rome through different channels: and he was desirous of being the first to give to the public a connected and circumstantial account of the transaction. Under the pretence of answering a letter from his brother Alfonso, he published his narrative, but a narrative confessedly abounding in errors, and

[13] Rev. 127. [14] Mémoires, xxvii. 200. [15] Rev. 129.

betraying great ignorance of French affairs.[16] He was not, however, content with being merely a narrator. While he looked upon the massacre as the master-piece of human policy, he was grieved to observe that several among his acquaintance attributed it to accident and passion: and, to reclaim them from this political heresy, he was at the pains to collect a mass of tales and anecdotes, which might support his hypothesis. But what could he say to the silence of those concerned in the plot, not one of whom during twenty months betrayed the least hint of its existence? or to the blindness of the huguenots, who did not discover their danger? This, he tells us, was decreed by divine Providence: God had closed the eyes of one party, and the ears of the other: these were signs "par lesquels sa divine majesté a fait voir au monde, qu'elle avoit divinement favorisé à cette entreprinse tres heureuse et admirable!" With this "judicious historian," the reviewer joins Davila and Adriani, writers of the same political school, who had learned, like Capilupi, and perhaps in his pages, to admire the consummate artifice which they discovered in the conduct of Charles and his mother. But I have already remarked how little credit is due to this class of historians. Till we know what authority they had for their assertions, we may be allowed to believe that they give us nothing better than their own suspi-

[16] Some of these errors are exposed by a favourite author, De Thou, iii. 152. 153. There is a manuscript copy in the library of the Prince of Piombino, which, instead of the printed title, has the following. "La morte di Gasparo Coligni ammiraglio, e d'altri ribelli seguita d'ordine di Carlo ix. Re di Francia, descritta da Camillo Capilupi al Sig. Alfonso Capilupi. It is dated Oct. 22, 1572.

cions and conjectures, or the suspicions and conjectures of others.

In support of the credit of Adriani, the reviewer had previously asserted that he was supposed to have derived the materials of his history from the journal of Cosmo, grand duke of Tuscany, who died in 1574.[17] In the course of a few pages, this conjecture ripens into certainty: the supposition disappears; and we are now told positively that "Adriani had access to the papers of the grand duke."[18] But is it certain that he had access to these papers? Is there any reason to believe that the journal of the Italian prince contained authentic information respecting the transactions in France? Is it known that Cosmo ever wrote any journal at all? To these questions, if the reviewer return an answer, it must be that he knows nothing about the matter.[19]

He next discovers proof of the supposed plot in the anecdote told to D'Ossat by Clement VIII. who was in the suite of cardinal Alessandrino, when that prelate remonstrated with Charles IX. against the intended marriage between his sister Margaret and the young king of Navarre. Charles, taking him by the hand, is reported to have said, I would never consent if I had any other

[17] Rev. 109. He refers to De Thou, but that author's words will hardly bear him out in the assertion. Ex Cosmi Hetruriæ ducis commentariis, ut vero simile est, multa hausit. Thuan. ii. 435. See Bayle's Dictionary, art. Adriani.

[18] Rev. 129.

[19] "Nous ignorons," says Perrin, "si Adriani a eu des mémoires de cette espèce entre les mains: mais il est bon de prévenir le lecteur que Riguccio Galluzzi, à qui de nos jours tous les archives florentines ont été ouvertes, n'en dit pas un mot dans son Istoria del Granducato." Mémoires, xliv. 421. c.

means of revenging myself on my enemies. "Si j'avois quelqu' autre moyen de me venger de mes enemies."[20] Anecdotes of this description, told from memory, and after the lapse of seven and twenty years, ought to be received with caution. Clement had written down the words at the time, and thought they might be found among the cardinal's papers. Perhaps, had he made the search, he would have discovered some discrepancy of expression, which might have produced considerable difference in the meaning. The anecdote was not new: it had been often told: it had been published soon after the massacre by Capilupi, and Catena, and the author of the Mémoires de l'estat. Hearing that the queen of Navarre was on her way to the French court, to conclude the treaty of marriage, Alessandrino hastened to prevent her, and obtained an audience of the king at Blois before her arrival. To Charles he complained of his recent connection with the admiral, objected to the marriage as likely to add to the power of the huguenots, and maintained that it was both the interest and duty of the king to put them down as enemies to the altar and the throne. Charles, who was anxious to rid himself of the presence and importunities of the cardinal before the arrival of the queen of Navarre, replied that he could not with honour retract his word to the young king; but that he acted with the best intention, and for the service of the church, as would afterwards be known. At the same time he drew a valuable ring from his finger, and offered it as a pledge of his attachment to the catholic faith; but

[20] Rev. 131.

it was declined by the cardinal, who replied that he could have no better pledge than the word of a king. This is all that was known to the contemporary protestant historian ;[21] and this we may readily believe. But the answer attributed to Charles by Capilupi, and Catena, and Clement, that " being unable to put down the huguenots by force, he must be allowed to do it in his own way, which would soon disclose his intentions: that he knew of no other means than the marriage to take vengeance on his enemies: that, if he could reveal his secret, the cardinal would know that nothing was so likely to produce the extermination of the heretics as the marriage," appears to have been fashioned by themselves, and accommodated to their own notions of a preconcerted plot. If no plot existed, Charles could not have given such an answer; and if it did exist, we may safely say that he would not. The prince, who on so many other occasions had kept his secret, surely would have been sufficiently on his guard not to betray it then. Even de Thou finds it difficult to believe that he would have expressed himself in terms so open and undisguised.[22]

Warnings given to the Admiral—Still less of proof can be drawn from the numerous admonitions given to the admiral.[23] They were times of jealousy and

[21] Quant au marriage, il luy grevoit bien d'avoir desja donné la parole, et fait promesse au prince de Navarre, laquelle, il ne pouvoit fausser, son honneur sauve : bien asseuroit il la saincteté du Pape, que le tout se faisoit à tresbonne intention, et pour le service et grandeur de la religion catholique, comme on le connoistra cy apres. Mém. de l'estat, i. 208.

[22] Capilupi, Lo Stratagema. Thuan. iii. 96. [23] Rev. 136.

distrust: an obscure hint, a hasty expression, a mysterious occurrence, was sufficient to awaken alarm; and the leaders on both sides were harassed by the officious solicitude of their friends, advising them of danger, and conjuring them to be upon their guard. But these warnings, by frequency of repetition, lost their effect: they were often received with expressions of disbelief, sometimes of reproof.[24] Those which the well-wishers of the admiral forwarded to him in Paris, with the reasons on which they were grounded, and his answers in refutation, have been published. A slight perusal will suffice to shew that the writers possessed no knowledge of any real plot.[25]

Intercepted Letters.—The reviewer appeals next to an intercepted letter from the Cardinal de Pelvé to the cardinal of Lorraine. As well might he appeal to the letter of the queen-mother to Strozzi. For both we are originally indebted to the same writer, who brings them forward with equal confidence in proof of the plot. The latter is confessedly a fabrication: and who can affirm that the other is not? Of all forgeries that of intercepted letters is the most easy. The copy, not the original, was sent to the admiral, with the expectation that it would awake in him some apprehension for his safety: the contempt with which he treated it, shews in what light it ought to be viewed.[26]

[24] See a remarkable instance of such incredulity on the part of the court in Montluc. Mém. xxv. 13.

[25] Mém. de l'estat, i. 253. 260. Thuan. iii. 11 6.

[26] Mém. de l'estat, i. 218. Celuy qui envoya copie de ces lettres à l'amiral, espéroit que la lecture d'icelles le feroit penser à soy à bon

The apology of Charles for the Massacre. The king, by his despatches on the 24th had attributed the massacre to the family feud between the duke of Guise and the admiral. But the duke refused to take the odium on himself,[27] and Charles, in a few days, publicly avowed the transaction, stating that the order had been extorted from him by the necessity of preserving himself and the royal family from the traitorous designs of Coligni and his friends. The reviewer has employed seven pages in the refutation of this charge. It was certainly unnecessary. By all writers it is treated as a mere fiction, put forth by the court to justify the king's conduct in the eyes of his subjects and of foreign nations.[28] But I am sur-

escient. Mais il estoit tellement persuadé de la bienveillance et fidelité du roy, qu'il ne vid onque clair en ce sien fait propre. Ibid. Prophecies were also tried, but in vain. See Mem. pour servire à l'histoire de France, i. 17, 19.

[27] Tavannes, Mém. xxvii. 274.

[28] Though I am far from suspecting the admiral's friends of any treasonable intention, I have no doubt that they contemplated some very strong measure against the following morning. In addition to their threats and bravadoes during the day, queen Margaret informs us that the chief subject of conversation among the thirty or forty gentlemen who passed the night in the king of Navarre's bedchamber, was the attempt on the admiral, and the vengeance they would immediately take on the duke of Guise, if the king should refuse them justice. At day break her husband rose, told her he was going to play at tennis till the king should be awake, when he meant to demand justice on the assassins, and immediately left the room with all his attendants. Le roy mon mary, qui s'estoit mis au lit, me manda, que je m'en alasse coucher. Ce que je fis, et trouvay son lit entouré de trente ou quarante huguenots que je ne connoissois point encore; car il y avoit fort peu de temps que j'estois mariée. Toute la nuict ils ne firent que parler de l'accident qui estoit advenu à M. l'Admiral, se resolvans dès qu'il seroit jour, de demander justice au roy de M. de Guise, et que, si on ne la leur faisoit, ils se la feroient eux mesmes. Moy, j'avois tou-

prised that my opponent, in discussing the question, did not draw from it an inference unfavourable to his own hypothesis. Whence arose these contradictory statements put forth by the court? Suppose the massacre a sudden and unpremeditated measure, and they are easily understood. Its authors had been compelled to act, and had no leisure to arrange the subsequent proceedings. But if you take it for the result of a plot of two, or rather of seven, years standing, you must maintain that during this time its devisers had never fixed on the grounds on which it would be proper to justify their conduct. To me the conclusion of the viscount de Tavannes seems incontrovertible: that the inconsistent explanations published by the court, prove two things—1. that the admiral was innocent of the treason imputed to him; and, 2. that the massacre was the result of a sudden and unpremeditated resolution.[29]

The reviewer's solution of the difficulty.—At length, with the hope that he has sufficiently disposed the mind of the reader to admit the existence of the plot, he ventures to approach the difficulty which he has undertaken to solve. Why was the

jours dans le cœur les larmes de ma sœur, (see p. 27.) et ne pouvois dormir pour l'apprehension, en laquelle elle m'avoit mise sans scavoir de quoy. La nuict se passa de cette façon sans fermer l'œuil. Au point du jour le roy mon mary dit qu'il vouloit aller jouer à la paume, attendant qui le roy Charles fust éveillé, se resolvant soudain de luy demander justice. Il sort de ma chambre, et tous ses gentilshommes aussi. Mémoires, tom 52. p. 180.

[29] L'execution de l'acte avoit occupé les entendmens tellement, qu'ils vacilloient aux pretextes plusieurs fois changez selon les occurrences: montre qu'il n'y avoit rien de premedité, et decharge les huguenots de l'accusation de l'enterprise a eux imputée. Mémoires, tom. 27. p. 274.

attempt made against the single life of the admiral? How came the conspirators to adopt a measure, the success of which must in all probability render the execution of their supposed design impracticable? To this objection he offers a first solution, which he rejects; then a second, which he likewise rejects; and, lastly, a third, which he adopts. "One other conjecture," he says, "remains; that the king, though originally a party in the conspiracy, had vacillated before the moment arrived for its execution; that the queen-mother, alarmed at the apparent progress Coligny was making in the confidence of her son, contrived the attempt on his life in the manner described by the duke of Anjou; and having failed in the enterprize, that partly by fear, and partly by insinuation, she brought back the king to his original design of dispatching the admiral and other huguenot chiefs, and making such a slaughter of the party, as to disable them from any future resistance to his will."[30]

Remarks on this solution. On this, which after all is only a conjecture, I may offer a few remarks. 1. Instead of "apparent," the true reading will be "real progress of the admiral in the confidence of the king." For it must have been a real progress, which induced him to abandon the favourite object of his policy for so long a time. Now when did this change in the royal affection and projects take place? Evidently two months at least before the St. Bartholomew, as appears from the anxiety of Anjou and Tavannes to withdraw the king from his connection with the admiral. But what then be-

[30] Rev. 151.

comes of the dissimulation and duplicity attributed to Charles in his communication with that nobleman, and of the insidious design with which he is supposed to have married his sister to the king of Navarre, that he might have a pretext for enveloping the whole body of the huguenots in one common massacre?

2. May not this change be dated even in the preceding year? The same marks of confidence were given by the king to the admiral during his visits in 1571, as in the last visit of 1572: and even then, according to Tavannes, Charles had been brought over to the interest of the party. Il estoit entierement à eux.[31]

3. It is moreover admitted, that not only the king, but the queen-mother vacillated also. Aware that she could not accomplish the design without the king's consent, and despairing of that consent on account of the progress which the admiral had

[31] Tavannes, Mémoires, tom. 27, p. 214. To detract from the credit of this writer, who repeatedly asserts that the massacre was not premeditated, and accuses those who think so, of ignorance (xxvii. 215, 222, 241, 274), the reviewer tells us that "he was anxious to exculpate his father from the imputation of having been the deviser of a measure held in execration by all mankind." Rev. 148. Now the truth is, that Tavannes was anxious to secure to his father the glory of having been the deviser of the measure. C'est la verité, que les huguenots furent seule cause de leurs massacres, mettans le roy en necessité de la guerre d'Espagne, ou de la leur. Sa majesté par le conseil du sieur de Tavannes esleut la moins dommageable, et salutaire tant pour la religion catholique, que pour l'estat. . . . . Que l'on rend donc l'honneur a ceux qu'il appartient, non que ces grands meurtres soyent louables, mais bien d'avoir empesché que par les marriages et alliances les trois parts de l'Europe ne fussent du party heretique, et d'avoir destourné de la France une guerre très périlleuse. Mém. xxvii. 503. 504.

made in his affection, she abandoned the intended massacre altogether; and satisfying herself with the murder of one instead of many, endeavoured to remove by assassination the man, whom she considered as her rival and adversary. Thus, then, as far as regarded her and her party, it must also be acknowledged that the subsequent tragedy was the result of consequences.

4. It appears, therefore, that the difference of opinion between the reviewer and myself is not so great as might be imagined. We both agree that the attempt on the admiral is irreconcileable with the co-existence of a plan of general massacre, and that, the second was taken up afterwards, on account of the failure of the first: in this only we differ, that he considers the massacre as the revival of an abandoned plot, I as the effect of an entirely new design. But on what does he found his opinion? On the authority of the writers, to whom he has appealed in the preceding pages? Most certainly not. They never dreamed of any discontinuance of the supposed project. According to them it originated in the conferences at Bayonne: the pacification of 1570 was concluded to gain time to mature it; and from that period to its execution, every measure taken by the court was artfully contrived to produce the desired result. Now, if in this, the most important part of their story, their evidence is rejected by the reviewer, why is it to be admitted in the other? If it be not of sufficient authority to prove the uninterrupted progress, why should it establish the previous existence, of the conspiracy?

Here he ought to have concluded the article: but

it suddenly occurred to him to revert to a subject which he had already treated, and to add "some traits of perfidy exhibited by the king in the interval between the final arrangement and the commencement of the tragedy." Of these the principal is thus described. "On the day before the massacre, Charles appointed a detachment of his guards for the protection of Coligny, stationed them around his lodgings, and ordered them to permit no catholic to approach the house; and on pretence of affording further security to the admiral, he directed that all the houses in the neighbourhood should be abandoned by their catholic tenants, and occupied by huguenots, who were ordered, by public authority, to repair to that quarter from the different parts of the town where they resided. The guards thus stationed for the protection of Coligny were employed next morning to murder him, and his friends, collected within a small space, were slaughtered without the possibility of concealment or escape."[32]

For this story the reviewer refers to de Thou, but at the same time, (to use his favourite language) he suppresses an important circumstance related by de Thou, which will impart a very different colour to the whole transaction.[33] The measure did not originate with Charles, but with the admiral himself. The guards were sent at his express request; Cornaton

[32] Rev. 155.

[33] Cum Colinius et ejus jussu Cornatonus sociorum nomine .... petiisset a rege et Andino fratre, præsidium aliquot armatorum tuendis Colinii ædibus circumponerent. Thuan. iii. 125. Nor does de Thou say that the protestants were *ordered*, but invited to take up lodgings near the house—singulos hortari, ibid, 126.

demanded them of the king in the name of Coligny: he even did more, he solicited from the king an order that all the houses in the street should be given up by their tenants for the accommodation of the admiral's friends, who wished to be lodged near him, for his greater protection. Of this we are assured by a writer, well known to the reviewer, and a most violent enemy of the king. Parquoi l'on donna charge à Cornaton d'aller vers le roy pour l'avertir de l'esmotion du peuple, et luy demander qu'il luy pleust ottroyer quelques archers de sa garde pour demeurer à l'entrée du logis de l'amiral: qu'il luy pleust aussi permettre, suivant le desir que plusieurs seigneurs et gentils-hommes, amis de l'amiral avoyent de se loger pres de luy, accorder et comconder à son mareschal de corps, que la rue, ou l'amiral estoit logé, leur fust donné."[34]

Again, it is of importance to determine at what time of the day, the request was made by Cornaton, and granted by the king. For, if this took place, before the design of the massacre was communicated to the latter, there can be no pretext for charging him with dissimulation. Now of the time there can be no doubt. De Thou adds, that afterwards a second council was held in Cornaton's chamber, and that a person who was present, treacherously hastened to the Louvre, and betrayed the proceedings to the king, who was walking with his counsellors in the garden. All the authorities which mention this circumstance, agree that this took place after dinner, and that the proposal of the massacre was

[34] Mémoires de l'estat, i, 281. He complains afterwards that more guards were sent than Cornaton wished for.

then made to Charles. The same is also plain from the Mémoires de l'estat, from which we learn, that some hours elapsed before the guard arrived under the command of Cosseins, that soon afterwards Rambouillet ordered the catholic inhabitants of the street to leave it, and that he then marked the several houses for the friends of the admiral, who took possession. All these particulars show that Cornaton asked for guards in an early part of the day.[35] What then, I may ask, could induce the reviewer to bring this charge against the king; to attribute to him measures, which originated with the opposite party; and to accuse him of issuing orders for the purpose of facilitating the massacre, though they were issued at a time, when Charles could have no knowledge of any such design?

Testimony of Chateaubriand. He concludes the article by producing in favour of his opinion, a passage from a dissertation by Pere Griffet. To it I may be allowed to oppose an extract from Les melanges literaires of the viscount de Chateaubriand, which fully confirms the principal statements in the preceding pages. He had the curiosity to search for the history of the St. Bartholomew, where, if any where, the truth was to be discovered, in the archives of the Vatican, at the time when they where lodged in France during the reign of Napoleon. The several secret dispatches, written in cipher, and forwarded to Rome by the papal agents in Paris, were carefully examined, and the result of the inquiry proved most satisfactorily, that the St. Bartholomew had not been concerted beforehand,

[35] Thuan. iii. 126. Mém. de l'estat. i. 282.

that it was the sudden consequence of the wounds received by the admiral, and that the number of the slain, though undoubtedly great, was much below the computation adopted by certain writers. " Si l'abbé de Caveyrac soutient que la journée de la Saint Barthelemy fut moins sanglante qu'on ne l'a cru, c'est qu' hereusement ce fait est prouvé. Lorsque la Bibliothéque du Vatican étoit à Paris (trésor inapreciable auquel presque personne ne songeoit) j'ai fait faire des recherches ; j'ai trouvé sur la journée de la Saint Barthelemy les documens les plus précieux. Si la verité doit se rencontrer quelque part, c'est sans doute dans des lettres écrites en chiffres aux souverains Pontifes, et qui etoient condamnées à un secret eternel. Il resulte positivement de ces lettres que la Saint Barthelemy ne fut pas prémeditée, qu'elle ne fut que la consequence soudaine de la blessure de l'amiral, et qu'elle n'enveloppa qu'un nombre de victimes, toujours beaucoup trop grand sans doute, mais au dessous des supputations de quelques historiens.[36]

With this testimony I shall close my answer. As far as regards the historical question in dispute, there can, I think, remain no doubt, that the opinion which I adopted, was the only one probable in itself, and supported by real authority. If this be so, I am satisfied : the cavils of the reviewer, with his vituperative and vindictive language, may be given to the winds.

> Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
> Portare ventis.

[36] Œuvres Complettes de M. Le Viscomte de Chateaubriand, Paris, chez l'Avocat, 1826. Tom. xxi. p. 352.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Todd's twelve objections—Cranmer's elevation to the See of Canterbury—His protestation—His letter for permission to examine the cause of the divorce—Henry's private marriage with Anne Boleyn—His supremacy—Cranmer's instrumentality in the condemnation of Lambert—His opinion respecting the eucharist—His opposition to the six articles—His condemnation of heretics to the flames—His declaration respecting the mass—The character of Gardiner—Cranmer's reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum—His recantations and death.

My next adversary, next in importance, but prior in point of time, is Mr. Todd, who, both in octavo and duodecimo, has challenged me to the combat. *He* maintains that religious prejudice has rendered me unjust to the merits of archbishop Cranmer; *I* suspect that religious partiality has rendered him blind to the frailties of his hero. If I know myself, I neither feel nor felt any antipathy to the memory of that prelate. But it was my endeavour and my duty to delineate his character with fidelity, to represent him as he really was, not as his admirers

may wish him to have been. Whether I have succeeded or not, my replies to the twelve charges or objections of Mr. Todd, will probably decide.

The first objection. "The elevation of Cranmer to the See of Canterbury is thus described by Dr. Lingard. 'I know not why Burnet is so anxious to persuade his readers that Cranmer was unwilling to accept the archbishopric, and found means to delay the matter six months. There were few instances of the see of Canterbury being filled so soon after a vacancy.[1] Six months, indeed, elapsed before his consecration, but that arose from the negociation with Rome to procure his bulls. He must have given his consent at least three months before.' Lingard, 2nd edit. vi. 253, 254." "Now," proceeds Mr. Todd, "ought not Dr. Lingard here to have given Cranmer's own account of his declining the archbishopric. And is not Burnet right in believing the solemn asseveration of the primate, made in the presence of his enemies? 'I protest before you all,' said Cranmer, 'there never was a man came more unwilling to a bishopric than I did to that; insomuch that when king Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking

[1] Mr. Todd objects to this passage; and I must own that it is stated too broadly. I should have excluded cases of translation. But he will pardon the inaccuracy, when he reflects that he has fallen into a similar error. He asserts that "the predecessors of Cranmer, for more than a century at least, were not thus impeded;" that is, took possession of their sees within a shorter space than six months; and forgets that Wareham, his immediate predecessor, translated from London, did not succeed till about a year after the death of archbishop Dene. That prelate died the 16th Feb. 1503, and the bulls for Wareham were dated Nov. 29: he took the oath on the 23d of Jan. 1504, and was enthroned on the 9th of March.

that he would be forgetful of me in the mean-time.'"[2]

1. Here I may be allowed to ask, why Mr. Todd represents the passage which he has quoted, as my "description of Cranmer's elevation to the see of Canterbury." I have indeed described his elevation to the archbishopric in the two pages, 253, 254: but the passage in question is no part of that description. It is merely a portion of a note subjoined to the text, for the purpose of pointing out the ingenuity of Burnet, who, to the time which elapsed from Cranmer's receipt of the king's letter in Germany to his acceptance of the archbishopric, added the three months which intervened between that acceptance and his consecration.[3]

2. If I rightly understand the reasoning of Mr. Todd, it follows that, because Cranmer said that "he came unwillingly to the bishopric," he therefore "declined it:" and that, because he "prolonged his journey by seven weeks," Burnet was right in saying that he delayed his consent for six months. By what argumentative process these two conclusions are deduced from the premises, I cannot comprehend.

3. To proceed to the criminal omission with which I am charged—I answer, that, if I had been writing the life of the archbishop, I should certainly have noticed this solemn asseveration, as it is termed; but at the same time should have thought it a duty

[2] Todd, 38. I should observe that Mr. Todd, as well as my two other opponents, quotes from the 2nd edition in octavo.

[3] He was "preconized" in the consistory in January (Becchetti, viii. 234.) and of course must have signified his consent at the latest in December.

to investigate two questions intimately connected with it: namely, whether more credit be due to the assertion of Cranmer in defence of himself before the commissioner, or to the contradictory assertion of Pole in his expostulatory letter to him; and then, whether his hesitation to return to England arose, as some pretend, from the moderation of his character, which aspired not to ecclesiastical honours, or, as others maintain, from certain misgivings, which taught him to fear the consequences of his late illegal marriage in Germany. But I was not his biographer; nor did I see the necessity of introducing into my pages the discussion of questions, which could throw no light on the general history of the times. This was my motive for the omission; a motive which, I trust, will be honoured with the approbation of the reader.[4]

Charge the Second. Mr. Todd, in the next place, selects the following passage: "By what casuistry could the archbishop elect, who was well acquainted with the services expected from him, reconcile it with his conscience to swear obedience to the pope, when he was already resolved to act in opposition to the papal authority? With the royal approbation, he called four witnesses into Saint Stephen's

[4] I do not notice the strictures of Mr. Todd on Dr. Milner and Mr. Butler, which he frequently mixes up with his animadversions on my work. Of these two writers the first can make no defence: death has removed him from the petty quarrels which agitate the inhabitants of this earth. The latter, though seventy-seven winters have passed over his head, still wields the pen with the energy of youth. He has replied, and, as far as I can judge, most satisfactorily replied to Mr. Todd, in his "letters to Charles Blundell, Esq."

chapel at Westminster, and in their presence declared that by the oath of obedience to the pope, which for the sake of form he was obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms, as he might judge useful to the church of England." Hist. vi. 254.—On this passage Mr. Todd comments through the six following pages, for the purpose of shewing that the protestation was made openly and publicly, and was not a "*secret protest*, as Dr. Lingard calls it."[5]

1. I am sure that my reverend adversary has no intention to misrepresent: but neither the offensive words "secret protest," nor any others of similar import, are to be found in my pages. However, I take blame to myself for the omission. I ought to have stated my opinion, which is, that the protestation was made in private, and that its purport was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public. Otherwise the news would quickly have reached Rome; the archbishop would have been suspended from the exercise of his office, and his judgment in the great cause of the divorce would have been liable to the same objection, as if he had,

[5] Todd, 41—49. Here I may observe that the imagination of Mr. Todd seems to be haunted by the ghost of Phillips, the writer of the life of cardinal Pole. On almost every charge he compares my narrative with that of Phillips. It matters not whether we agree or disagree: the bare mention of the name is sufficient to awaken the anger of Mr. Todd; and at every turn the unfortunate biographer is lashed most unmercifully. (See Todd, p. 43, 47, 71, 80, 96, 111.) To me these philippics are highly amusing: for I cannot recollect that I consulted the life of Pole in any one of the instances brought forward by Mr. Todd.

in the first instance, been consecrated without the papal approbation. The motives which induced Henry to solicit that approbation, equally required that the protest should be kept secret.

2. Mr. Todd contends that it was not a private transaction, because it contains the following words: "in his scriptis *palam, publice* et *expresse* protestor." But Mr. Butler has shewn that such is the usual language of these instruments, though subscribed with the greatest privacy.[6]

3. He tells us of "the refutation of the clandestinity by Fuller," and of "the masterly vindications of the publicity by Neve and Ridley." Now what is this "refutation by Fuller?" A mere assertion, unsupported by authority, that the protestation was made thrice, once in the chapter house, then before the consecration, and, lastly, at the reception of the pall! And what is "the masterly vindication of Neve?" A repetition of that assertion, supported by the pretended authority of Fuller, who produces none himself, and of Fox and Strype, neither of whom mentions the renewal of the protestation! With Ridley's "vindication," I am unacquainted: but of this I am sure, that, if he had produced any additional testimony, it would not have been suppressed by Mr. Todd.[7]

4. Allow me then to ask, where is the authority

[6] Letter ii. to C. Blundell, Esq. cxviii.

[7] See Fuller, 186. Neve, 510. The latter adds, that "instruments were made at Cranmer's request, recording these repeated protestations." This, were it true, would set the question at rest. But where are these pretended instruments? If Mr. Todd does not know, we may conclude that they do not now exist, and, as no one, I believe, ever heard of them before Neve, we may add, that they never did exist.

for these pretended iterations? There is none in the instrument itself. It professes to be made before Watkins the king's prothonotary, not the consecrating bishops. "Coram vobis authentica persona."—There is none in the altercation between Cranmer and Martin, the commissioner. Though the repetition of the oath is distinctly mentioned, no hint is given by either that the protestation was made more than once.—There is none in Fox, or Parker, or Godwin, or, as far as I can discover, in any writer within the next eighty years after the transaction.[8] Strype informs us that, "having withal his said protestation, Cranmer, before the aforesaid witnesses (those in whose presence he had made it in the chapter house) asserted and protested that he would read the schedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the said protestation, which, he said, he made the same day in the chapter house before those witnesses, and no otherwise, nor in any other manner. And then presently after, kneeling on his knees, read the schedule containing the oath to the pope."[9] Where Strype learned these particulars, or whether they are true or not, we are unable to discover: but it is evident that even, according to his narrative, the protestation was not repeated. All that Cranmer did, was to say before the four witnesses, that he meant to take the oath in the sense of the protestation, which

[8] Parker speaks of only one protestation. He says, indeed, that it was made in sacratione, but it is plain that he means the protestation privately made in the chapter house, as it was made coram testibus fide dignis, notariisque publicis. Mason is the first with whom I am acquainted, who mentions repeated protestations, (De Minist. Angl. 154.) but he produces no authority.

[9] Strype's Cranmer, p. 20. App. p. 9.

he had already made in their presence. Its purport was still kept secret.

5. "Even the jurist, Dr. Martin, the enemy of Cranmer." says Mr. Todd, "is opposed to the secret protest."[10] But where, I ask, is the proof? In the following dialogue.

"*Martin.* Did you not swear obedience to the see of Rome?

"*Cranmer.* Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

"*Martin.* Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth *by records and writings here ready to be shewn.*

"*Cranmer.* But I remember that I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time."[11]

Mr. Todd occasionally soars beyond the ken of ordinary understandings. Here he infers that Martin believed the protest to have been public, because he said that Cranmer had twice sworn obedience to the see of Rome, as appeared by records and writings. How is this conclusion drawn? I know not. I can see the two extremes, but the chain which connects them together, is lost in impenetrable darkness.

6. However, with regard to the morality of the fact, it matters little, whether it were done in private or in public. In either case it was a secret to him, to whom the oath was taken, and by whom it was imposed. He had empowered no one to receive it with any limitation. He had issued the bulls for the archbishop elect on the express condition that he

[10] Todd, 45.

[11] Fox, Acts and mon. Wordsworth's eccles. biog. iii. 546.

should take the oath in the usual manner previously to the episcopal consecration. Undoubtedly, as far as regarded the pontiff, the protest was a fraud.[12]

Charge the Third. The third passage which calls forth the reprehension of Mr. Todd, refers to a letter from the new archbishop to his sovereign. "As soon as the convocation had separated, a hypocritical farce was enacted between Henry and Cranmer. The latter wrote a most urgent letter to the king, representing the evils, to which the nation was exposed from a disputed succession, and begging, for the exoneration of his own conscience, and the performance of his duty to the country, the royal license to examine and determine the great cause of the divorce. The king readily granted the request." Hist. vi. 256.

1. To this passage Mr. Todd opposes the entire letter of Cranmer: not that he objects to the accuracy of my statement, but to shew that the transaction does not deserve the imputation of being a "hypocritical farce."[13] Loath as I am to offend the feelings of my adversary, I cannot consent to withdraw the expression. He boasts of the humility and piety observable in the letter. There is, indeed, humility enough, for the archbishop knew the disposition of the tyrant, whom he addressed: of piety I see but little, nor did the subject require much. But the true point at issue between us is, whether the conscientious motives, alleged by Cranmer, were real or pretended. To decide this, we

[12] Quod juramentum, nisi in sacratione præstaret, tam episcopis sacratoribus, quam ipsi sacrato omni episcopali administrationi inter dixit. Parker, Antiquit. 490.

[13] Todd, 50.

must look at the facts. Henry had failed in all his attempts to obtain a divorce from his wife. Fortunately archbishop Wareham dies, and the king, instead of translating some prelate to the vacant see, as had been the practice for the last hundred and fifty years, pitches upon a clergyman in priest's orders, a dependent on the family of his mistress. By the time his bulls arrive, she is several months gone with child: no moment is to be lost. In a few days, the new archbishop is consecrated, and within less than a fortnight, even before he obtains possession of his temporalities, he asks permission to hear and determine the cause of the divorce. Can any man, who bears these facts in mind, believe that Cranmer was ignorant of the object, for which he was placed in the see of Canterbury? That he intruded himself into this difficult and odious business, merely for the exoneration of his conscience? or that he sought to determine the cause for any other reason than because he knew it was expected from him? The true motive of his haste may be seen in another letter also published by Mr. Todd, in which, having pronounced the divorce, he wishes to proceed with the proof of the second marriage, "for the time of the coronation is so instaunte, and so nere at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition to be had in the same."[14]

[14] Todd, 59. In p. 56, he asks "why, as *the business* of *the divorce* is called a hypocritical farce, is not Gardiner also said to have enacted a part in it." I am surprised Mr. Todd did not observe that the expression is not applied to *the business of the divorce*, but to the correspondence between Cranmer and the king, in which Gardiner had no concern.—As to the part which Gardiner acted in the *business* of *the divorce*, I have stated that he acted "with seven others as counsel for the king." Hist. vi. 527.

2. Mr. Todd persuades himself that every candid reader of the letter, "will be led to believe the assertion of one of Cranmer's biographers, that his being placed in this cause of the divorce at the head of the commissioners shocked the archbishop."[15] This is passing strange! The object of the letter, as is evident both from itself, and from the king's answer, was to obtain permission to determine the cause according to the duty of his office, and yet we are called upon to believe that he was shocked, when his reqûest was granted! If it were so, there certainly must have been more dissembling in the transaction, than I before suspected.—But why are we told of his being "at the head of the commissioners?" He was the sole judge, he heard the cause in his own court, and he pronounced judgment by his own authority as archbishop.[16]

3. We are referred in the next place to the passage, in which I state that Henry was secretly married to Anne Boleyn on the 25th of January, in a garret at the western end of Whitehall. Mr. Todd will not believe that the king of England "would condescend to celebrate his marriage in a garret," nor is he the only critic whose ire has kindled at this unfortunate expression. The king's object was certainly to conceal the ceremony from the prying eyes of his household; and what he would do, or would not do for that purpose, is more, I believe,

[15] Todd, 53. The biographer is Gilpin.

[16] In causa, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio nostro mero vertitur .... de consilio jurisperitorum et theologorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad sententiam nostram definitivam in dicta causa ferendam procedimus .... pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, &c. .... Rym. xiv. 463.

than Mr. Todd can inform us. However, I have no predilection for the word "garret:" any other of similar meaning will equally serve my purpose. Shall I substitute "a room in the attic story?" This may be thought a more attic phrase, and therefore more befitting the dignity of the subject. Or will "a room in the western turret," be preferred? It was certainly at the very top of the house, "editissima," and rose above the western end, "quæ parti occidentali supereminet." On a subject of this immense importance, I shall be most ready to adopt any emendation, which may be thought the least degrading to the majesty of the English monarch.

The Fourth Charge. Mr. Todd's objections, under the head of the king's supremacy, are of such a nature, that I know not what answer to return. He inquires why I have asserted this thing, why I have omitted that? and attributes both assertions and omissions to motives, which never had existence, except in his own imagination. To refute such trifling, would be to insult the discernment of the reader: and I feel that an apology is due for the brief notice which I mean to take of the most prominent passages.

1. I am charged with suppressing the fact that Gardiner wrote a book in defence of the king's supremacy. Now this is plainly intimated in the passage quoted by Mr. Todd,[18] and is expressly stated in pages 426 and 482 of my sixth volume.

[18] "Henry called on the most loyal and learned of the prelates to employ their talents in support of his new dignity; and the call was obeyed by Sampson and Stokesley, Tunstal and *Gardiner*." Hist. vi. 284.

2. I had said that Tunstal's compliance was thought to arise from the fear of the royal displeasure: to which Mr. Todd opposes a letter written by that prelate to Henry, and at the same time twitts me with want of research, otherwise I could not have been ignorant of its existence. I can assure him that I was well acquainted with the letter, though I drew from it an inference greatly at variance with his opinion. It most certainly proves in my favour that Henry himself did not believe the bishop, who had previously protested against his supremacy,[19] to be a sincere convert to the cause: nor will the denial of Tunstal be sufficient to remove the suspicion, if we recollect that it was made under the fear of bringing on himself the vengeance of a despotic sovereign.[20]

3. When I noticed Cranmer's sermon to prove that the pope was antichrist, I observed that "a new light had lately burst on the archbishop." Mr. Todd denies it; because as much had been said by others before him. That is true, but I spoke with reference to Cranmer's previous conduct. But a little before, in the judgments by which he dissolved the marriage of Henry and Catharine, and confirmed the marriage of Henry and Anne, he was careful to style himself the legate of the very man, whom now he branded with the title of antichrist.[21] Might I

[19] See his protestation in Wilkins, Con iii. 757.

[20] Henry in his letter to Tunstal reproached him with "looking for a new world or mutation." He replied, "I have been as sore against such usurpations of the bishop of Rome as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme, and that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore as far as I might, when he flourished most, it is not likely." Strype, Eccl. Memorials, i. App. 138.

[21] Rymer, xiv. 462. 469.

not then say with every appearance of truth, that a new light had burst upon his mind?

The Fifth Charge. Speaking of the prosecution of Lambert for heresy, I said, "Nor is it the least remarkable circumstance in his story, that of the three men who brought him to the stake, Taylor, Barnes, and Cranmer, two professed, perhaps even then, most certainly later, the very same doctrine as their victim, and all three suffered afterwards the same, or nearly the same, punishment." Hist. vi. 367. In contradiction to this statement, Mr. Todd asserts that I have not proved, nor even pretended to prove, that Cranmer brought Lambert to the stake. Let the reader judge from the following words. "Urged by an unconquerable passion for controversy, Lambert presented to Dr. Taylor a written paper, containing eight reasons against the belief of the real presence. Taylor consulted Barnes: Barnes disclosed the matter to Cranmer; and Cranmer summoned the schoolmaster (Lambert) to answer for his presumption in the archiepiscopal court." Now it was this which led to his condemnation; and, as I speak of Taylor, Barnes, and Cranmer in the same manner, it is evident that I consider them all three as instrumental in bringing the victim to the stake. Had not Taylor communicated the paper to Barnes, or had not Barnes denounced Lambert to Cranmer, or had not Cranmer summoned him to answer for his heresy, the unhappy man would not have forfeited his life. The fact is so plain, that I see not how it can admit a doubt.

But was not Cranmer still more instrumental in the accomplishment of this tragedy than I have

asserted in my work? Lambert was first tried before him, and appealed from him to the king. I will not pretend that he was actually condemned by the archbishop, because the proceedings have been lost; but it is not very probable that he would appeal from him, till he saw that an unfavourable judgment would be pronounced. Before Henry it is admitted that Cranmer disputed against him; and, if we may believe an authority quoted in the course of a few pages by Mr. Todd, he did more: he condemned him. "What doctrine," says Martin to the archbishop, "taught you, when you *condemned* Lambert, the sacramentary, in the king's presence in Whitehall?" Now does Cranmer deny that he condemned him? No: he silently acquiesces in the charge, replying: "I maintained *then* the papist's doctrine."[22] Judgment we know was pronounced by Cromwell, the king's vicar general, but from this passage it is probable that the seven bishops present, of whom Cranmer was the chief, sate as judges on the bench with Cromwell.

Charge the Sixth. In a note at p. 368, I have said: "Cranmer's promptitude to reject the doctrine of the real presence, when he could do it with safety, has provoked a suspicion that he did not sincerely believe it before. Burnet and Strype conceive that he held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation at this period: and I am inclined to assent to them from the tenor of the two letters already quoted, that to Hawkins, and the other to Vadianus."

Certainly Mr. Todd's taste must be very capri-

[22] Todd 79, 80.

cious? If I differ from Strype and Burnet, he is displeased: now, that I am inclined to agree with them, he is equally displeased. He is positive that at this period Cranmer held the catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. For, as we have just seen, when Martin asked, what doctrine *taught* you, when you condemned Lambert? Cranmer replied "I *maintained then* the papists' doctrine. Again Martin said: "You, Master Cranmer, have *taught* in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one verbum domini." "Nay," replied the archbishop, "I *taught* but two contrary doctrines in the same." But Mr. Todd, whose eye is so experienced in the detection of verbal niceties, should have observed, that these questions and answers refer to the doctrine which Cranmer openly *taught*, and that we are inquiring into the doctrine which he inwardly *believed*. That he *taught* at this period the doctrine of transubstantiation, is well known. Had he not, the infallibility of the head of the church would have condemned him to the stake. But Strype and Burnet think that he really held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation. As far as I can judge, they think rightly.[23]

[23] Mr. Todd has here published a fragment of a letter to Cranmer from Dantiscus in 1540, not that it refers to the present subject, but because "it is too curious to be omitted." Quodque magis hic omnes in admiracionem ac detestacionem inducit, *tot conjugia, totque contra omnes cum humanas tum etiam divinas leges repudia*, quæ tamen, quamvis passim hic in vulgus sparsa pro veris habentur, apud me adhuc sunt ambigua. "Here," says Mr. Todd, "is an evident allusion to the frequency of divorces, which at that time prevailed." But it alludes to frequency of marriages as well as of divorces, and in reality refers, not to the manners of the age, but to the conduct of the king; who had not only married and divorced

The Seventh Charge. The conduct of the archbishop, with respect to the statute of the six articles, has been highly eulogized by his admirers; who have described him as persisting in his opposition to the very last, and braving the displeasure of the king in the cause of humanity and truth. 1. It should, however, be considered, that his opposition was not entirely disinterested. The third of the articles declared that priests may not marry by the word of God: the statute itself pronounced such marriages of no effect; ordered the parties so married to be separated; made it felony, if they should cohabit afterwards, and subjected all persons in priests' orders, who lived carnally with women, to imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and to death on the second. Now, Cranmer was in priests' orders; he had married a relation of Osiander in Germany; he still cohabited with her at Canterbury; he had a family by her. Had he not, then, the strongest personal motives to oppose these severe and sanguinary enactments? 2. It is not true that his opposition was continued to the very last. It ceased on the second day. On the first the archbishop, and several other prelates, spoke with energy and resolution, but the next morning the house was honoured with the presence of Henry: the royal theologian supported the articles with irresistible eloquence, and Cranmer came over to the opinion

Catharine of Arragon, and Anne Boleyn, but that very year had married and divorced Anne of Cleves, and taken another wife, Catharine Howard. The passage is underlined: and Cranmer himself says that he had underlined such passages as contained "haynous rumours of the kyng's majestie." See Mr. Todd's Vindication, 83—85.

of the head of the church. That this was the case, is proved by the following letter, written at the time by one of the lords, who was present.

"Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with godlie learning. York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich and Carlisle, have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion: and my lord chancellor and lord privy seal (Audeley and Cromwell,) as good as we can devise. My lord of Canterbury, and all his bishops have given their opinions, and have come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool." Cleop. E. v. p. 128.

On this letter Mr. Todd makes the following remarks. 1. "Dr. Lingard has not noticed that this letter was copied from the manuscript by the accurate Strype, and printed by him in the appendix to his life of Cranmer."[24] Had Mr. Todd compared the two copies, he might have spared this remark. Strype's copy is very inaccurate: mine is correct, and taken, not from that of Strype, but from the original in the British Museum.[25]

2. "The letter is without any name subscribed, which also Dr. Lingard has suppressed."[26] I answer that it is only a fragment, which has been preserved.

[24] Todd, 87.

[25] I did not, indeed, preserve the orthography of the original, which I regret. The word *goodlie* is a typographical error for godlie.

[26] Todd, 87.

Had I known the name of the writer, I should certainly have given it. The omission must have announced to my readers that the writer was unknown.

3. "It may have been the exaggerated communication of any friend to the papal cause in the way of news, as indeed it seems to be, for it begins—*and also newes here.*"[27] It is said that a sinking man will catch at a straw: and so it appears to be with Mr. Todd. Let the reader peruse the letter once more, and say whether it be possible to believe that the writer was not one of the temporal lords. "*We* of the temporalty have been all of one opinion: my lord of Canterbury and all his bishops have given their opinions, and have come in to *us*."

4. "The letter affirms what is not true, that the bishop of Salisbury alone persisted in refusing his assent, and that the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops who have been already named of his opinion, came in to the opposing party, when the bishop of Worcester, as well as the bishop of Salisbury, rather than conform, resigned his bishopric."[28] With all my respect for Mr. Todd, I must be allowed to doubt whether he be as well acquainted with the transactions of that day, as the writer of the letter. To the assertion that the bishop of Salisbury alone persisted in refusing his assent, Mr. Todd opposes his own persuasion that the bishop of Worcester did the same. But how does he prove it? Because they both resigned their bishoprics. That they resigned, is true; but then comes the important question, when did they resign? Had it been

[27] Todd, 87. [28] Ibid. 88.

at the close of the debate, or even soon afterwards, that circumstance might have furnished a presumption in Mr. Todd's favour. But it appears, from the journals of the house of lords, that both prelates continued to sit and vote till the end of the session. For what reason they resigned, or were forced to resign afterwards, we do not exactly know. It might be on account of their intemperance during the debate: or it might be on account of their unwillingness to inquire into the new offences created by the act, a task which was imposed on the bishops.[29]

But "Cranmer," says Mr. Todd, "protested against the bill." "The king desired him to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to the bill; but he humbly excused himself: for he thought he was in conscience bound to stay and vote against it."[30] Of this protest and vote no trace can be discovered in the journals; nor do I admire the judgment of the man who thus prefers the statement of a professed partisan, made one hundred and fifty years afterwards (it is Burnet's statement,) to that of one who wrote at the very time, and was present at the debate.

It has always appeared to me that the advocates of the archbishop confound the debate on the articles, with the passing of the bill. The articles were

[29] Mr. Todd has copied my note on their resignation, but only as far as the words of the French ambassador. His letter was written after the prorogation of the parliament, and gives as the cause of their deprivation, that they would not subscribe to the edicts: pour n'avoir voulu souscrire à edits. What the Frenchman meant by edicts, it is not easy to ascertain; perhaps the king's injunctions for the execution of the act.

[30] Todd, 91.

proposed on the sixteenth of May: afterwards came the recess: the two houses met again on the 30th; and the bill was introduced on the 7th of June. It was before the recess that the great debate took place, at which the king attended: on the 30th, after the recess, the lord chancellor informed the house, that by the conjoined labours of the king and the prelates, unanimity had been effected respecting the articles. Thus at least I understand the words in the journal: per dominum cancellarium declaratum est, quod, cum non solum proceres spirituales, verum etiam regia majestas ad unionem in præcedentibus articulis conficiendam multipliciter studuerunt et laboraverunt, *ita ut nunc unio in eisdem confecta sit*, regiæ igitur voluntatis esse ut pœnale aliquod statutum efficeretur.[31] This passage appears to me to shew that not only the archbishop, but all the bishops, even Salisbury himself, had "come in to" the royal opinion.

Mr. Todd asks, "can Dr. Lingard call Cranmer a convert to a cause which he waited for the opportunity only again to oppose? Of these very six articles the archbishop himself afterwards brought in a bill to mitigate the penalties."[32] I called him a convert, because "he had given his opinion, and come in to" the opposite party: that he was a sincere convert, I neither said nor thought. But does Mr. Todd really suppose, that to mitigate the penalties of dissent, is the same thing as to oppose the establishment of doctrine? The very bill of mitigation, which was supported, perhaps introduced, by the archbishop four years afterwards, left the doctrine

[31] Journals, I. 113. [32] Todd, 92.

of the six articles in full force, and established by

Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Charges. In the eighth and ninth sections of Mr. Todd's vindication, I see nothing that particularly demands notice; the tenth begins in the following manner. "Among the many partialities of Dr. Lingard, none can be more revolting than his pretence, by way of contrast to the character of Cranmer, of an unpersecuting temper in Gardiner, and of a mild demeanour in Bonner."[33] Shall I escape the imputation of rudeness, if I say that the first part of this charge is ridiculous? In which of my pages is this wonderful contrast to be found? I have spoken, indeed, of Cranmer, and Gardiner, and Bonner. It was my duty to speak of them, as their actions passed in review before me. But I never brought them into comparison with each other, nor did the idea so much as suggest itself to my mind. Of Bonner I have said little: but that little was taken from Mr. Todd's favourite authority, Fox. With respect to Gardiner, I had so often seen the epithet "bloody" attached to his name, that I looked on him as a most cruel persecutor; and, having repeatedly seen the mild and charitable Cranmer sitting on the trial, and pronouncing the condemnation of heretics in the reign of Edward, I expected to find the bloody Gardiner daily employed in similar atrocities during that of Mary. It, therefore, excited my surprise, when I could discover but one instance in which he had taken any part in such proceedings, and that was on the first prosecution after

[33] Todd, 104.

the revival of the statutes, when it was expected that he, as the chief law magistrate, should attend On this account I ventured to remark, that "the charge against the chancellor was not supported by any authentic document, and was weakened by the general tenor of his conduct." The remark has astonished the prejudices of Mr. Todd: my readers, I trust, will think, that, with a due regard to truth, I could not have said less.

In a note I added the following passage from Persons, as corroborative of my opinion. "Verily I believe that, if a man should ask any good-natured protestant that lived in Queen Maries tyme, and hath both wit to judge, and indifferency to speak the truthe without passion, he will confesse that no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from crueltie and revenge, than bishop Gardiner, who was known to be a most tender-hearted and myld man in that behalf; in so much that it was sometymes, and by some great personages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bore: yea, to him especially it was imputed, that none of the greatest and most knowen protestants in Queen Maries reigne, were ever called to accompt, or put to trouble for religion."[34]

It is not by abusing this writer that Mr. Todd must expect to put down this testimony. Let him, if he can, produce some instance that contradicts it. Let him remember that Persons wrote of the public conduct of one, who had exercised the office of prime minister, and wrote at a time, when thou-

[34] Persons, Ward-worde, p. 42.

sands were alive to convict him of falsehood, if what he asserted, were not true. Let him compare the testimony of Persons, papist as he was, with the testimony of that sound orthodox protestant, old Roger Ascham, preceptor to queen Elizabeth, who thus writes, in the reign of that princess, to the earl of Leicester. "Noe bishop in queene Marye's days wold have dealt so with me: for such estimac'on e'n those (even the learnedst and wisest men, as Gardiner, Heath, and cardinal Poolé) made of my doore service, that although they knew perfectly, that in religion, by open writing and privy talk, I was contrary unto them, yett that, when Sir Francis Inglefield by name did note me specially at the council board, Gardiner would not suffer me to be called thither, nor touched elsewhere, saying such words of me as in a letter, though letters cannot blushe, yet should I blushe to write therein to your Lo'pp—Winchester's good will stood not in speakeing faire, and wishing well, but he did indeed that for me, whereby my wife and children shall live the better, when I am gone."[35]

In the Eleventh Charge, we are directed to that passage in my history of Mary, in which I have brought to light the persecuting provisions of the reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum, the new code of canon law devised by the archbishop in the reign of Edward, for the government of the reformed church of England.[36] It was certainly an awkward discovery: and, when I consider the pain with which Mr. Todd seems to have perused it, I can readily

[35] Whitaker's Richmondshire, 286. Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 99.
[36] Hist. vii. 258. Todd, 113.

excuse the remarks which it has drawn from his pen. Whether those remarks have done him honour in the estimation of his readers, I am ignorant: to me it is sufficient that he dare not deny the accuracy of my statement. I ask no more.

The Twelfth and Last Charge demands a few preliminary observations. Soon after the death of the archbishop, a book was published in London with this title: "All the submyssions and recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late archebyshop of Canterburye, truly set forth in Latyn and English, agreeable to the originalles wrytten and subscribed with his own hand: Visum et examinatum per reverendum patrem et dominum, Edmundum, Episcopum, London. Anno MDLVI. Excusum Lond. in ædibus J. Cawodi, Typogr. Regiæ Majest. cum privilegio." 1. This book contains the submissions and recantations written and subscribed with the hand of the archbishop. In number they amount to *seven*. This, I trust, is a sufficient answer to the remark of Mr. Todd, that "to the six instruments of the archbishop's abjuration, published by Bonner, Dr. Lingard has for the first time in the page of history mistakenly added a *seventh*." 2. In Mary's reign as well as the reigns of her successors, no work, touching on theological matters, could be lawfully published without the previous examination and license of the archbishop, or of the bishop of London. This tract bears, in the title page, the license of Bonner. By most writers it has on that account been considered as his work and publication: but most certainly the ground of their opinion suggests the contrary. Had he been the author, it would not have stood in need of his

license. 3. It was published by Cawoode cum privilegio, that is, with a patent securing to him the copyright. Now it appears to me, that this single circumstance will furnish a more probable explanation of the two entries in the council book of 13th and 16th of March, than has yet been given. The first is an order that Rydall and Copland should give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to be burnt: the second, a recognisance by the same printers, that they "will deliver to Mr. Cawoode all such books as they of late printed, concerning Cranmer's recantation, to be by the said Cawoode burnt." By the dates, it appears that these orders refer to the recantation of doctrinal errors made on the 25th of February. But at that time, as appears from the letter of the French ambassador, he was expected to make another recantation of erroneous conduct; and this he accordingly did make on the eighteenth of March. Hence, as the book of Rydall and Copland was evidently imperfect, we may conclude that it was published without license, which would subject it to seizure; and as it was moreover an infringement of Cawoode's copyright, the reason appears why the books were delivered to Cawoode himself to be destroyed.

2. But to proceed to the submissions themselves, the four first appear to have been considered as general and evasive: the fifth was as full and explicit, in regard to doctrine, as the most zealous of the archbishop's adversaries could have wished. In the sixth he condemned his own conduct, acknowledged that he had been a greater persecutor than St. Paul; that he was unworthy of favour: that he deserved not only temporal but

everlasting punishment. He was the cause and author of the divorce; he had blasphemed against the sacrament, and had sinned against heaven. He conjured the pope, the king, and the queen, to pardon his offences against them; the whole realm, and the universal church to have compassion on his wretched soul; and God to look on him with mercy at the hour of his death. Of the authenticity of these two confessions there can be no doubt. One is given by Fox, the other is mentioned by the French ambassador in a letter to his court, as "une confession publique, et amende honorable et volontaire." Indeed they are not disputed by the friends of the archbishop, who confine themselves to the denial of the seventh, a matter of small consequence as far as regards the conduct of Cranmer; but considered by them of importance, in as much as it furnishes a plausible cause of invective against Bonner, "the egregious superintendant "of the publication," says Mr. Todd, "who had "the effrontery to publish to the world the very "contrary of what Cranmer professed, as if it had "been approved and pronounced by him:". "the "profligate bishop," says Strype, "who, to serve "an end, prostituted his faith and credit, by testifying a thing so notoriously known to be quite "otherwise."[37]

3. But a few moments of cool inquiry will show, that the publisher, whoever he was, committed no forgery: that he inserted in his book nothing but what was true, and that this fabrication, as it is termed, forms in reality, what I have called it, a seventh recantation. The book, it should be

[37] Todd, 125. Strype, iii. 233.

recollected, professes to contain, not the speech which the archbishop made in the church before his death, but "the submissions and recantations which he wrote and subscribed." Did he then write and subscribe this seventh recantation? Of that there cannot be a doubt. "Then," says Fox, "because the day was not farr past, and the lords and knights that were looked for, were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish frier, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name, *which when he had done*, the said frier desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and *that he did also.*"[38] If then Cranmer actually wrote and subscribed this recantation, where can be the forgery in publishing it as such with his other recantations? He afterwards revoked whatever he had subscribed: that I acknowledge: but the revocation did not do away the existence of his previous submissions, or make the publication of any of them a forgery.[39]

The principal objection which Mr. Todd brings against me under this head is, that I have not noticed "the subtlety with which the fortitude of

[38] Acts and mon. 559.

[39] Here I have to thank Mr. Todd for the detection of a trifling error in my account of the last paper. I called the fourth article in it an assertion of the queen's title; I should have said a direction to assert it: for so unconscious was the publisher of the design now imputed to him, of imposing the paper on the public as a speech actually spoken, that he printed it with the directions which it contained. "Here to declare the quenes just title to the croun."

the archbishop had been assailed;" "the promise that his life should be spared, and the suggestion that he might live many years, and yet enjoy dignity or ease, or both."[40] It is evident that Mr. Todd has overlooked the note in p. 278, of my sixth volume, in which I both mention these rumours, and refute them. Had such a promise been made, the archbishop would have mentioned it, when he revoked his recantations in his last speech: on the contrary, he attributed the recantations, not to any promise given, but to the hope cherished by himself, that by making them, he should obtain mercy. "I renounce and refuse them," says he, "as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be."[41] From these words it is evident, that he had received no promise.

I have now gone through the twelve charges advanced against me by Mr. Todd. I have met them fairly, and answered them, I trust, satisfactorily. To me the controversy, though occasionally embittered by an angry expression from my opponent, has proved highly gratifying. The talents and industry of Mr. Todd are well known: the sources of information lay open before him: he possessed facilities of research, which fall not to the lot of many: and the result has been, I say it with confidence, that he has produced nothing to impeach, in any material degree, the correctness of my references, or the veracity of my statements.

[40] Todd, 117, 121. [41] Strype, iii. 237.

CHAPTER IV.

The Quarterly Review—Its compliment to Mr. Todd —The Amour between Henry and Anne Boleyn—Also between Henry and Mary Boleyn—Dispensation granted to Henry—Speeches of Anne in the Tower—Admonition of Cardinal Allen.

A writer in the fifty-sixth number of the Quarterly Review, mentions with distinguished praise "the severe and unrelenting vigilance, with which Mr. Todd has hunted Dr. Lingard through his many mis-statements respecting archbishop Cranmer."[1] But he is not content with paying this compliment, he aspires to a share in the honours of the chase; and undertakes to pursue me through the melancholy story of Henry's second queen, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Be it so: I have no great reason to fear these literary Nimrods. The reader has seen how easily I burst the gossamer nets of Mr. Todd: the toils spread by his brother huntsman are fabricated of the same light and flimsy materials.

Henry and Anne Boleyn. "Dr. Lingard," says the reviewer, "details the whole progress of the amour (between Henry and Anne) during five

[1] Quart. Rev. p. 19.

years, with the precision and accuracy of one of Marivaux' novels. His authorities for all this are a few dateless letters, and a furious invective by Henry's enemy, cardinal Pole. The finished coquette, who, coldly and with ambitious calculation, for two years, refused a less price than a crown for her affections, who, by consummate artifice, wrought the amorous monarch to divorce his wife and wed herself, is stated, nevertheless, to have lived as Henry's concubine during three years. Now, in the absence of all authentic evidence, would it not have been more natural, evidently more charitable, to attribute her long resistance to her virtuous principles, perhaps to her previous attachment to lord Percy? her weakness to the seductions of Henry's ardent attachment, and to her confidence in his promises. All that is proved against her in this part of her history is, that she was married on the 25th of January (in a garret as Dr. Lingard, with due regard to probability, asserts,) and that Elizabeth was born the 13th of September."[2]

1. In this laboured passage we look in vain for the perspicuity, which usually characterizes the writer. He is evidently at a loss, whether he ought to admit or to deny the alleged connexion between Henry and Anne. In one part he admits it, where he wishes her weakness to be attributed to the seductions of Henry, and her confidence in his promises: in others he may be said to deny it, for he affirms the absence of all authentic evidence, and that nothing has been proved against her but her marriage on the 25th of January, and the birth of

[2] Review, p. 13. The length of the passage has induced me to omit a few lines of no importance

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her child on the 13th, he should have said the 7th of September.

2. I shall answer, that I have related nothing respecting the conduct of Henry and Anne, which is not founded, in my opinion, on evidence beyond cavil or suspicion. One letter, indeed, is dateless. But that letter is favourable to Anne, as it proves that Henry, when he wrote it, had in vain solicited her chastity for more than a twelvemonth. But, if the reviewer had consulted the other letters, which I have quoted, he could not have said that they are "dateless." All of them, and they are numerous, have their accompanying dates. As to the "furious invective" by cardinal Pole, it will be more properly noticed in the discussion of the next objection.

3. I shall add that there is no absence, as he pretends, of authentic evidence. We have not, indeed, the confession of the parties; but we possess the evidence of those, who had the opportunity of knowing the truth, and who gave their testimony in circumstances, in which they cannot be suspected of falsehood. We have the evidence of cardinal Wolsey. In a confidential conversation with Cavendish respecting the causes of his disgrace, he alludes to the secret and nocturnal influence of Anne, whom he points out by the designation of "the night-crowe, that cries ever in the king's ears against me."[3] We have the letters of Du Bellay,

[3] Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. i. 490. Of this influence there had been lately a remarkable instance. Henry had received the cardinal graciously, conversed with him familiarly in presence of the courtiers, given him a long audience in his closet till late in the evening, and requested him to return the next day. His enemies

the French ambassador, the confidant of both Henry and Anne. His language, when he speaks of the lovers, is too plain to be misunderstood. There cannot be a question that he looked upon her as the king's mistress. We have the two breves of Clement addressed to Henry, in which the pontiff states the fact without doubt or qualification. But what is more in such a case, we have the evidence of facts. We find the king attempting to seduce a young and beautiful female. To overcome her objections, he promises her marriage, as soon as he can obtain a divorce from his wife. The cause is brought into court: but the delay of the judges irritates his impatience. He expels his wife; he sends for the object of his affection from the house of her father; he allots her apartments contiguous to his own; he orders his courtiers to pay to her all the respect due to the queen; he suffers her to interfere in matters of state, and to claim a share in the distribution of favours. Thus they live for three years under the same roof. We find them taking their meals together; if the king ride out, we are sure to discover her by his side; if he hunt, he places her in a convenient station to partake of the sport; if he change his residence, she accompanies him; and, when he crosses the sea to meet the French king at Calais, he cannot leave her behind him. Let the reader couple all this

trembled for their own safety; but before morning the "night-crowe" had cried in the king's ears against him," and obtained a promise that he would never more speak to Wolsey. At an early hour he rode out with Anne, dined at Harewell, and did not return till the evening. The cardinal, who had come according to appointment, received a hint to return to London. Compare Cavendish, 438—444, with the bishop of Bayonne's Letter, 375, and Ellis, 1, 307.

with the amorous temperament of Henry, with his impetuous disposition, with his indelicate allusions and anticipations in his correspondence with her,[4] and he will not want evidence to teach him in what relation they lived together, nor feel any surprise, if her child was born within little more than seven months after the clandestine celebration of their marriage.

Henry and Mary Boleyn. The reviewer, in the next place, refuses to believe, that Mary Boleyn, the sister of Anne, had ever been the mistress of Henry. His chief reason is, that the story depends primarily on the credit of cardinal Pole, "in an acrimonious invective against the king," and "it

[4] See his letters, iv. v. vi. ix. xvi. The seventeen letters preserved in the Vatican, have been copied in Hearne's Avesbury, the Harleian Collection, vol. iii. and the Pamphleteer, vol. xxi. xxii. From the circumstance that the 16th was written, while the king was labouring at "his book," we may safely date it in some of the last months of 1527, or at latest in January, 1528. At that time Henry and Anne had come to an understanding; she had consented to faire l'offyce dung vray loyal mestres et amye, et de se donner corps et cuer à luy; and he had promised to make her his wife and queen in the place of Catharine. Hence we must assign the letters, which refer to the first part of their courtship (i. iv. v. viii.) to the year 1527, and its commencement to the year 1526, as in one of them (v.) Henry asserts that more than a year had elapsed since he was wounded by the arrow of love, attaynte du dart d'amours.

In 1528 she was absent from court, from the beginning of June to the middle of August, and again from the beginning of September to the beginning of December, after which she constantly accompanied the king. To the first of these two periods belong the letters iii. vii. xii. xiii., to the latter vi. xiv. xvii. As the others (ii. viii. ix. x. xi. xv.) neither mention the divorce, nor the arrival of Campeggio, I think they must have been written in 1527; and of these the ninth and tenth were sent during the season for buck-hunting, which lasted from the 29th of June to the 13th of September.

is far from improbable that he may have heightened and aggravated some scandalous report into a positive assertion; more especially as he is known to have watched with a vigilance, not entirely disinterested, the claim of Mary, daughter of Catharine, to the succession."[5]

1. The work, which is here styled "an acrimonious invective," is entitled, pro ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione libri quatuor. Henry had repeatedly ordered his kinsman to explain his notions respecting the supremacy; and Pole, with much hesitation, and after many delays, sent him this treatise in manuscript for his private perusal. It was begun soon after the separation of Henry from the church of Rome, and continued during the time when all Europe resounded with execration of the tyrant, who had put to death Fisher and More: and the writer, attached to the king by the ties of blood and gratitude, persuaded himself that to open his eyes to the turpitude of his conduct, it was necessary to lay it before him without disguise or qualification. Hence he adopted an asperity of language, which, joined to that declamatory style, in which he always indulged, was more calculated to irritate, than to convince. But this, though it may lead us to impeach his prudence, ought not to affect his credit. He would have defeated his own object, had he "aggravated scandalous reports into positive assertions," or exhorted Henry to repent of offences, which he did not know that the king had committed."

The notice of the amour with Mary Boleyn is

[5] Review, 13, 14.

thus introduced. Pole had asserted that Henry, in seeking to procure a divorce from Catharine, pretended motives of conscience, but was in reality actuated by motives of passion. "How," he proceeds, "you will perhaps ask, can I know what passes in the secret of your own breast? No one but God can know it. I answer that God has shewn it to me, and not to me only, but to every man, who will take the trouble to consider your conduct: he has shewn it through the very person whom you have chosen to fill the place of your lawful wife. For who is she? *The sister of a woman, whom you had long kept as a mistress.* But did you not know that the law, which forbids you to marry the relict of your brother, if he have known her carnally, also forbids you to marry the woman, whose sister you have carnally known yourself? If then you reject one of these marriages through respect for the law, you ought to reject the other for the same reason. And say not that you were ignorant of this part of the law. No one knew it better than yourself. You proved it by soliciting a dispensation to marry the sister of one who had been your concubine. Thus the very choice of the person for your second wife discloses your real motives. She, silent though she be, proclaims to the world that lust, and not religion, induced you to claim the benefit of the law in Leviticus."[6]

[6] Quî me scire potuisse quo animo id feceris? Quem autem nisi solum *deum* animum tuum nosse? .... Dico *deum* mihi revelasse, nec vero mihi uni plusquam reliquis omnibus, qui dare operam voluerunt ut causam cognoscerent .... Deus revelavit, non per se quidem, ut multa persæpe multis, sed per illam ipsam adulteram, quam tu in uxoris cubile induxisti ..... Quid ea, cujusmodi tandem est? An non soror ejus est, quam tu violasti primum, et diu postea concu-

The reader will observe, that in this extract Pole does not undertake to prove the alleged amour of Henry with Mary Boleyn: he takes it for granted: he assumes it as a known and undisputed fact: and from it he argues, that the king knew his intended marriage with Anne to be no less forbidden by the Levitical law, than his past marriage with Catharine. In several other passages he refers with equal confidence to the same amour, and on each occasion his language is that of a man, who asserts nothing of which he is not assured, and who neither fears nor expects to meet with contradiction. The truth is, that, as far as we know, no one had the hardihood to contradict him.

2. But it seems that I "have ingeniously produced a corroboration of Pole's testimony by an inference drawn from a passage of a most remarkable document, a dispensation granted to Henry at his

binæ loco apud te habuisti? Illa ipsa est. Quomodo ergo nos doces quam refugias ab illicitis matrimoniis? An tu hic *legem ignorabas*, quæ non minus profecto vetat, sororem te ejus ducere, cum qua unum corpus factus sis, quam ejus cum qua frater. Si una detestanda est, altera etiam detestanda. An *hanc legem nesciebas? At tu omnium optime noras.* Verum quo pacto hoc scio? Quia eodem tempore . . . . . ab eodem pontifice magna vi contendebas, ut tibi liceret ducere sororem ejus, quæ concubina tua fuisset, idque impetrasti. An non igitur hæc ipsa, quam nunc habes pro uxore quæ tua mens fuerit, planissime ostendit? An non per ejus personam, ea tacente, Deus omnibus certum facit, te quo libidini tuæ obsequereris, non ut Dei mandato obtemperares, legis mentionem fecisse. Poli pro eccl. unit. defensione, l. iii. p. 53, 54, 55. Argentorati, 1555. I have transcribed this long passage, 1. to shew the scope of Pole's reasoning; 2. to explain the senso in which he used the word "revelation;" 3. to point out the fact to which the words "*quo pacto hoc scio*," refer. They refer not to the amour with Mary Boleyn, but to the king's knowledge of the prohibition in Leviticus.

own request."[7] That it is a corroboration, an irrefragable corroboration of Pole's testimony, no one can doubt. He had alluded to the dispensation, I produced it. Its object was to do away every impediment to Henry's intended union with Anne, as soon as the marriage with Catharine should be pronounced invalid. It was for this purpose composed by the canonists in England, approved by Henry, and granted by the pontiff. Now, what was obtained by it? A license to marry another woman, 1st, though that woman were under a contract of marriage to a third person, provided it had not been actually consummated; 2d, and though she might stand in the first degree of affinity to the king, arising out of his connexion (lawfully or unlawfully) with some other woman, provided she, whom he meant to marry, were not the relict of his brother.[8] The first part, it is evident, referred to the precontract of marriage, suspected to have been made between Anne Boleyn and Lord Percy: but to what did the second refer? Manifestly to the king's amour with Mary Boleyn. In no other case could Anne stand in the first degree of affinity towards him. Thus the dispensation proves beyond the possibility of doubt the truth of Pole's statement.

3. It is amusing to observe how the reviewer

[7] Review, 13.

[8] 1°. Etiamsi talis sit quæ prius cum alio contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum. 2°. Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocumque licito aut illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit. Wilkins, Con. iii. 707.

winds and writhes himself into all postures and shapes, to escape from this difficulty. 1. He assumes a most charitable tone, and will never believe "that the pope, the infallible guardian of christian morals, would sanction the grossest incest by granting such a dispensation." Whether the dispensation can be said to sanction incest, any more than a bill of divorce passed by the legislature, sanctions adultery, I will not determine. That I leave the reviewer to settle with the pontiff. It is sufficient for me that, as an historian, I did my duty by relating the fact. 2. He is, moreover, sure that Henry would never have asked for it. "If the incestuous connexion were a secret from the world, would he not have thrown the proof of it upon others, rather than have thus proclaimed it? If it had been so "public and notorious as to make concealment unnecessary, must not some other evidence besides Pole's have remained?[9] It were easy to break either horn of this dilemma. But I shall answer, that whether the connexion were public or secret, a dispensation became requisite: otherwise the validity of the marriage, and in consequence the legitimacy of the children by that marriage, might afterwards be disputed. 3. He maintains "as a

[9] Review, 14. I may add from one of Henry's letters to Anne, that he retained a kindness for Mary, after he had abandoned her. Her father and mother had refused to receive her into their house; and Henry by his private secretary, Walter Welch, wrote to lord Rochford in her favour. "Tochyng your sister mater, I have causyd water welze to wrtte to my lorde myne mynde herein; whereby I truste that eve shall not have poure to dessayve adam: for surly, what soever is sayde, it cannot stand wt hys honour, but that he must neds take her hys natural dawgther now in her extreme necessite." Pamphleteer, xxii. 118.

safe inference," that Pole had no other ground than this dispensation for his scandalous assertion:" and yet a few lines before he had told us that very probably Pole had taken it up from report, and heightened and aggravated that report into a positive assertion. 4th. He begins to disbelieve the document altogether, and wonders "that Dr. Lingard should rest on such partial, questionable, and suspicious evidence," and yet almost in the same breath, he had admitted the instrument as genuine, when he so "safely" pronounced it the real foundation of Pole's statement.

Speeches of Anne Boleyn. Having informed us that "the tender mercies of some are cruelty, and the charity of others is not much better," the reviewer proceeds to complain of the injustice done to Anne Boleyn by the unfair inferences which have been drawn from her speeches in the Tower. Though my name is introduced into this paragraph, I can hardly persuade myself that I am the person censured. I have related those speeches, it is true: but I have related them impartially, giving those which make for the queen, as well as those which make against her. I then proceed thus: "From them it is, indeed, plain that her conduct had been imprudent: that she had descended from her high station to make companions of her men servants; and that she had been so weak as to listen to their declarations of love. But whether she rested here, or abandoned herself to the impulse of licentious desire, is a question which probably never can be determined."[10] This is the inference which I drew,

[10] Hist. vi. 316.

and I wish to know what reasonable objection can be raised against it. The reviewer, indeed, complains that by the words men-servants, the general reader may understand men in the lowest rank of life, while in reality three out of the four were gentlemen by birth. Had he looked into pages 313 and 323, he would have found this remark unnecessary. I have twice made the distinction, which he complains that I have suppressed.

Allen's admonition. He afterwards introduces, with a sneer, what he terms "a remarkable instance of Dr. Lingard's impartiality." It refers to a tract entitled, "An admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, concerninge the present warres made for the execution of his holines sentence by the highe and mightie kinge Catholicke of Spain, by the cardinal of Englande. Anno MDLXXXVIII." The reviewer's words are "Dr. Lingard analyzes the tract as far as the abuse of the queen, which, however extravagant, may influence the reader in the estimate of her character. But the fourth part he passes lightly over, and the treasonable division, which would display his own party in the darkest and truest colours, and fully confirms their designs against the queen's life, and the nation's independence, he omits entirely with a reference to Fuller and Mr. Butler."

Had I been the partial and interested writer, whom the reviewer is pleased to represent me, instead of analyzing any part of this tract, I should have allowed it to remain in the obscurity in which it lay concealed. Nothing called on me to detail its contents. But the book has always been extremely scarce: though I can enumerate twenty writers who have mentioned it, I do not believe that any

one of them had seen it: and on that account I thought I should gratify the curiosity of my readers by giving an analysis of it in my notes. But then I had but little space: the volume had already reached the six hundredth and sixtieth page, a bulk which I had not anticipated; and for that reason I confined my description to the part of the book, which was unknown, and for the remainder referred the reader to the accounts already published. This is the partiality of which I have been guilty.

But may I ask what is the meaning of the passage, "which would display his own party in the darkest and truest colours?" Why am I to be identified with the Spanish party? Where have I approved of their intrigues or designs? The Spanish party composed not the great body of English catholics. The former projected and promoted the Spanish expedition; the latter rose to oppose it with an energy and unanimity, which extorted from their very adversaries the praise of loyalty and patriotism.

Perhaps I ought, in conclusion, to apologize to the reader for the length to which these pages have run. He must attribute it to the numerous charges and cavils of my adversaries. If I have endeavourd to vindicate myself, I have also been careful to avoid all irrelevant matter and unnecessary prolixity. On most of the subjects, I might with justice have said more: on none, with a due regard to my own character, could I have said less.

THE END.

Shackell and Co. Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.,

LETTER

FROM

GEORGE COMBE

TO

FRANCIS JEFFREY, Esq.

IN

ANSWER

TO HIS

CRITICISM ON PHRENOLOGY,

CONTAINED IN

No LXXXVIII. OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Moved " by the sound, the King grew vain :
" Fought all his battles o'er again ;
" And THRICE he routed all his foes, and THRICE he SLEW the SLAIN."
ALEXANDER'S FEAST.

JOHN ANDERSON, Jun., EDINBURGH,
55, NORTH BRIDGE STREET ;
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, & GREEN, AND
SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON.

1826.

139
Comlet

LETTER

FROM

GEORGE COMBE TO FRANCIS JEFFREY, Esq.

Sir,

An elaborate and ingenious criticism on my work on Phrenology has just appeared in the 88th number of the Edinburgh Review, which common report attributes to your pen. Finding myself assailed not only by the wit and argument of that article, but by the whole weight of your literary and philosophical reputation, I endeavoured to ascertain the grounds on which you were designated as its author; and, in addition to the strong intrinsic evidence afforded by the article itself, I have traced the statement, in numerous instances, to individuals who say that they received the information from yourself. Thus situated, I use the freedom to address this answer to you, not merely as the reputed editor of the Review, but as the individual author of the criticism in question.

In the 15th article of the 4th number of the Edinburgh Review for April, 1803, the late Dr Thomas Brown exclaimed, "Of Dr Gall and his skulls who has not heard!" After eleven pages of hostile argument, he "*trusts*, that his "*readers are* ALREADY SUFFICIENTLY CONVINCED *that the prin-*"*ciples on which Dr Gall has founded his theory are erroneous;*"

and adds, that "it is *unfortunate* for Dr Gall's theory that he has "entered into the detail of it with such minute exactness, *as it en-*"*ables every one too easily to compare its predictions* with the "skulls of those around him."

In the 49th number of the same Review, the late Dr John Gordon exclaims, "Our readers will here recognize, "without any difficulty, the same man of skulls whom we had oc-"casion to take notice of more than twelve years ago. *Long be-*"*fore this time we should have looked for his Craniologi-*"*cal death!!*" "We look upon the whole doctrines taught "by these two modern Peripatetics, (Drs Gall and Spurzheim,) "anatomical, physiological, and physiognomical, as a piece of "*thorough quackery* from beginning to end; and we are persuaded "that every intelligent person who takes the trouble to read a sin-"gle chapter of the volumes before us will view them precisely in "the same light."—"They are a collection of mere absurdities, "without truth, connexion, or consistency, which nothing could "have induced any man to have presented to the public, under pre-"tence of instructing them, but absolute insanity, gross ignorance, "or the most matchless assurance."

These were pretty plain intimations to the public of the opinions of the Edinburgh Review; and if "Craniology" did not immediately thereafter give up the ghost, you, at least, were guiltless of its future inroads and ravages. The public *at first* believed every word of this criticism, and railed at Craniology in round set terms, furnished by your Review;—gave up purchasing and reading the works on the subject, and seemed, for a time, to have consigned it to oblivion.* With an obstinate, but not an ignorant perversity, however, (excited partly by the first edition of the work you have just condemned,) the public "took to their old idols again;" after reflection, and observation of facts, many of them openly and audaciously professed belief in "Craniology," dignified, at length, by the name of Phrenology; and plainly showed that the two articles of your Review in 1803 and 1815 had been utter failures.

* Dr Spurzheim's publisher told me, that the sale of his works completely stopped after the appearance of the 49th number of the Edinburgh Review, and did not revive till 1819, after which it went on rapidly, and it still proceeds.

The flourish with which you introduce the third attack is in the following terms:—"Every one, of course, has heard "of Dr Gall's Craniology, and seen his plaster heads, mapped out "into the territories of some thirty or forty independent faculties. "*Long before this time, we confess, we expected to have seen them "turned into toys for children, and this folly consigned to that "great limbo of vanity to which the dreams of alchemy, sympathe-"tic medicine, and animal magnetism had passed before it.*" It seems really to provoke you that Phrenology *will not die.* You tell us in this article, that "the dogmatism and arro-"gance of its advocates were really BEGINNING TO BE TIRE-"SOME, *and the folly had lasted* RATHER TOO LONG." No wonder! It has lasted twenty-three years after you had deprived it of every shadow of plausibility! It is now believed in and supported by full-grown men, who were not in existence when you first attacked it. This *is* lasting "rather too long." You assure us, however, that "it would, *no "doubt,* decline of itself *in no* VERY *long time;* and, in supposing "that we have now done something to accelerate its cessation, we "are probably vainly arrogating to ourselves an honour that will "belong entirely to the progress of reason, or the more fortunate "distraction of some newer delusion." It was this passage, coupled with the two previous attacks of the Review, that suggested the motto to the present Letter.

The strong contempt which you entertain for Phrenology has kept you sadly ignorant of its history and progress. You have written sixty-six pages replete with hostile arguments, original, no doubt, to yourself, but the most of them familiar, as a thrice-told tale, to those who have attended to the discussions about the science. Did the public not know your genius and originality, it would be impossible for them to doubt, that you had ransacked the pages of Blackwood's Magazine, the Literary Gazette, and other equally philosophical oracles,—picked up every argument they contain against Phrenology, and spun them into this web of your own. Your objections, almost without a single exception, have been already propounded, refuted, and given up by their advocates, and, what is more, by the public. It shall be my business to prove this as we proceed.

You say, "We do not hear that Phrenology makes much "way in London or Paris." This is because you do not read the periodical notices of its progress. Allow me then to mention, that there is in London a Phrenological Society, embracing upwards of a hundred members, not obscure persons, but members of parliament, doctors in medicine, barristers, and such like. In April and May, 1826, Dr Spurzheim lectured in that city to an audience exceeding 800 individuals of the highest rank and intelligence; and, finally, for brevity's sake, the Medico-Chirurgical Review for October, 1826, the most widely-circulated and the most esteemed medical journal in Europe, has published a review of the system of Phrenology, in which the following passage occurs:—

"Phrenology is more intimately connected with the applica-
"tions of medical knowledge than may at first sight be apparent.
"On this account, therefore, *we recognize in the science of its prin-*
"ciples a legitimate and useful subject of professional inquiry. We
"must acknowledge, at the same time, that we feel impelled, *by*
"the pure force of multifarious and unquestionable evidence, to
"regard this *as the most intelligible and self-consistent system of*
"mental philosophy that has ever yet been presented to the con-
"templation of inquisitive men." After a full, able, and accurate analysis of the work, the journalist concludes:—"We might have
"expatiated at great length on the utility of this science, in its ap-
"plications to the purposes of education, legislation, political eco-
"nomy, criminal jurisprudence, history, legal and theological elo-
"cution, and, *above all,* TO THE TRUE PHILOSOPHY OF MEDI-
"CINE; but we have abstained from this indulgence, in the belief
"that the foretaste of an intellectual luxury we have provided for
"our readers will stimulate them to desire the enjoyments of a full
"repast."—P. 468.

In regard to the progress of the science in *Paris*, I beg to refer you to the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in that city, published in the Transactions of the Phrenological Society in 1824.—"It is worth mentioning also,

"that, about two years ago, Dr Gall, at the request of the Mi-
"nister of the Interior, commenced lecturing for the benefit of
"the Medical Students in Paris. The lectures were, like others,
"delivered gratis; but he was provided with the use of the
"operation and lecture room in the *Hospice de Perfectionnement,*
"for his first course, and afterwards, on account of that being
"too small, with the large examination-room of the Institution

" des Jeunes Aveugles, which is well fitted for the purpose. " His audience amounted to betwixt 200 and 300; and so eager- " ly is he attended, that it is well known that many more tickets " were applied for at each course than could be given, and that " the apartment was regularly crowded half an hour before the " lecture began. Dr Spurzheim also continues to lecture in " Paris, and although, from his demanding a fee, his auditory " is not numerous compared with Dr Gall's, yet he is regularly " attended, and his course is esteemed the more philosophic of " the two."

The statements of this letter are confirmed by a notice which appeared in the New Monthly Magazine for January, 1823.—" Histoire des Fonctions du Cerveau. Par le Docteur Gall, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1822.

" This is another exposition of Dr Gall's system of *Invincible* " (innate) *Dispositions*. This gentleman, who possesses no little " talent, both as a physician and a writer, has been practising, " for the last twelve or fifteen years, in Paris, where he has esta- " blished a reputation, and realized a handsome fortune. On " the first development of his system, it was received either with " unthinking pleasantry, or dismissed as idle, without due con- " sideration; but a more intimate knowledge of the man has led, " if not to the adoption of his ideas, at least to a more serious " and respectful examination of them. There are many men " here (Paris) amongst the most eminent for their medical and " physiological knowledge, who, though differing widely upon " other scientific topics, yet agree in saying, that there is much, " not only of probability, but of truth, in the system of Dr Gall. " It is certain, that one of the most powerful motives of human " action, *instinct*, has been but very imperfectly examined by the " most celebrated modern philosophers, and, amongst others, the " acute Helvetius. It appears to be the general opinion of the " present *savans* of Paris, that Dr Gall's system calls for a much " more serious and profound examination than it has hitherto " undergone. To this task it will be necessary to bring a con- " siderable share of anatomical science, as the Doctor, it is said, " has made some very important discoveries in the structure of " the brain. This new edition, which is improved and enlarged, " will consist of eight volumes 8vo."

The account given in the foregoing letter regarding the opinions entertained in Paris, although published in this country several years ago, and reprinted at the time in a Parisian newspaper, have never been contradicted. Not only so, but they have been supported by many subsequent notices in the

philosophical journals of France, particularly the Revue Encyclopedique.

In page 295 of your Review, you state, "that several persons who had been at first rather taken with the new doctrines, had, by more careful observation, been thoroughly convinced of their fallacy." This also is an unfounded and very frequently-refuted assertion. It is adverted to in the following letter by Dr Spurzheim, likewise published in the Phrenological Transactions.

"In the whole of our travels," says he, "we have been well received, and the second course was always more fully attended than the first, so that there was no doubt that the subject excited great interest. But it is to be regretted that we stopt too short a time to form practical pupils. The principles were explained, the development shewn, and we were off. You will conceive that this was not the way to establish the doctrine. We had more advantage than our pupils, because we had great opportunities of observing the heads of many men of talents; we got more conviction than our auditors. We were prepared by previous study to make observations, but our stay was too short to teach the auditors to repeat them. Dr Gall even gave the advice not to repeat the experiments, since it is difficult to do so, which I have mentioned in my large English work, 2d edition, p. 270. But I assure you, that not *one Phrenologist, from knowledge,* has fallen back, saying that the doctrine is false. I have seen frequently the contrary, *i. e.* the belief in it strengthened by self-observations."

Farther, the assertion, that individuals, after once believing, have discovered evidence which induced them to renounce their faith, must imply one of two alternatives,—either that nature changed betwixt the period of belief and that of disbelief, or that the persons alluded to became converts at first from credulity, without due examination. The first alternative will scarcely be alleged to have happened; and as the second implies a total want of a philosophic understanding in the individual, and indeed admits his previous stultification, I willingly allow you all the advantages which you can derive from such testimony against the truth of the doctrines. Even although some persons should affirm that they have made observations, and found the result to differ from the assertions of the Phrenologists,—this

would be nothing more than has happened in the case of other sciences, which have nevertheless been ultimately admitted to be true. Mr Playfair mentions that Mariotte, "though very conversant with experiment, *appears never to* "*have succeeded in repeating the experiments of Newton.*" Supp. to Encyc. Brit. second Dis. p. 57.

To complete this brief notice of the progress of the science, allow me to add, that Dr Otto, an established medical professor, and editor of a medical journal in Copenhagen, lectures on Phrenology as the true theory of the functions of the brain, advocates its cause in his Journal, and has published a separate work in elucidation of it. In the United States there are Phrenological Societies in Philadelphia and Washington; and lectures have been delivered at the latter city, New York, and Lexington. Dr Caldwell of Lexington is an endowed medical professor, who has both published and lectured on the science; and, in particular, his course in Washington this year was attended by the highest functionaries of the American state, and many members of Congress. In Calcutta there is a Phrenological Society; and, as a proof that it is not a dormant body, it may be mentioned, that there is now on my table a pamphlet, or rather a book of 126 octavo pages, published there in 1825, against the science. I could add many more proofs that Phrenology is far more widely extended than you appear to dream of; but one more shall suffice. In the spring of 1826, a Mechanics' Phrenological Society was formed in Dundee. The first letter of their Secretary announcing the information was as follows:—

"*Dundee, May* 2, 1826.—To GEORGE COMBE, Esq.—RE-"SPECTED SIR,—The members of the Dundee Mechanics' Phre-"nological Society request me to transmit you their *most sincere* "*thanks* for the interest you have taken in their welfare, by sending "them, through Mr Galloway, a copy of your System of Phreno-"logy at a reduced price. At the same time they wish me to give "you some account of the motives which induced us to form our-"selves into a society for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of "phrenological truth; the chief of which was, the education of "youth. It has long appeared to a few of us, that the present sys-

"tems of education (I use the word in its widest sense) are deficient, "because they do not seem to be founded upon a true knowledge of "the nature of man, by presupposing equal natural abilities in all, "and holding, that education alone is competent to make a youth "a mechanic, a lawyer, an orator, or a divine. But, experiencing "in our families the truth of the poet's observation, that

"'The hand of Nature on peculiar minds
"'Imprints a different bias,'"

"we resolved to study Phrenology, and finding it (as far as our li- "mited observations went,) to be in accordance with nature, we "formed ourselves into a society, that we might the more easily ob- "tain the necessary books, busts, and apparatus, and, by our united "observations, aid each other in sooner acquiring a knowledge of "the science. We have now procured your 'Elements' and 'Sys- "'tem,' a 'set' of busts and callipers, and two or three of our num- "ber are finishing craniometers for our use, which will enable us to "take more correct measurements. We have drawn up a few re- "gulations, but have not yet printed them, hoping we may procure "a copy of those belonging to your society, which might suggest "some new mode of procedure, as it is our wish to have every thing "as wisely ordered as possible to disarm our opponents, of which we "are honoured with a few, who industriously circulate Gordon's "critique upon the science amongst themselves,—a work which, I "am told, is as full of opprobrious epithets as of sound philosophy. "We have chosen the name of Mechanics, &c. partly because it is a "true designation, and partly to distinguish *ours* from the *one* "formed by our "patricians," who will doubtless contribute to "throw new lights upon Phrenology by their discoveries; while *we*, "from our stations, must be content to *receive* its lights, happy if "we succeed in rendering them practically useful for restraining "the propensities, nourishing the higher sentiments, and training "the faculties of our youth into activity, thereby rendering them "useful and virtuous citizens, fitted to adorn

"'The mild majesty of private life,
"'Where peace with ever-blooming olive crowns the gate.'

"Should your other avocations permit, we would feel proud of a "continuance of the countenance with which you have already ho- "noured us, which, I beg to assure you, would be gratefully re- "ceived by, respected Sir, your very obedient servant,

"ALEXANDER TAYLOR, Secy."

The Secretary's second letter, dated 10th October, 1826, is as follows.—

"RESPECTED SIR, *Dundee, 10th October*, 1826.

"In consequence of the increase of members to the Phrenological "Society of this quarter, we find it necessary, in order to meet the "demand of the younger members, to have other two copies of your "System, and one copy of the Elements. I have, therefore, at

" their request, taken the liberty of applying to you, through the " medium of the guard of the Champion coach, for them, who has " instructions to pay you for them; and, should it be convenient, " we would be obliged much by their being sent by return of the " the coach, as there is a meeting to-morrow evening. I remain, re- " pected Sir, your obedient servant, ALEXANDER TAYLOR."

Here, then, is evidence, that, notwithstanding of your utmost efforts, and not of yours alone, but those of nearly the whole periodical press of Europe, Asia, and America, Phrenology has extended itself into all these regions of the globe, and now embraces among its votaries men of every rank and profession, from the senator to the mechanic. One would imagine that such facts, if known to you, might have made you pause, and doubt of the infallibility of your own philosophy. The degree of knowledge which has forced its way into your mind has, indeed, modified the style of the present Review greatly to the better. Phrenologists were formerly " *quacks*," " empirics," " itinerant philosophers," " mountebanks," " and " cunning craniologers;" now they are men of " more than " common acuteness;" but their doctrines are still " crude," " shal- " low," " puerile," " fantastic," " dull," " dogmatic," " incredibly " absurd," " foolish," " extravagant," and " trash." How, then, does it happen that a gentleman of your acknowledged talent and courtesy should be betrayed into such a dismal situation as you now occupy? for, after twenty-three years' experience of defeat, you are still denouncing a large number of intelligent men as lost in utter stupidity, because, after full examination, they believe in what you admit is, after all, a pure question of fact! This is easily explained without disparagement either to your sentiments or intellect. Your opinions were formed in a different school, before Phrenology was heard of; and you have never been able to overcome the force of your first impressions so far as to study it with an impartial mind.

Locke, in adverting to persons in a similar condition, says, " What probabilities are sufficient to prevail in such a case? And " who ever, by the most cogent arguments, will be prevailed upon " to disrobe himself at once of all his old opinions and pretensions " to knowledge and learning, which with hard study he hath all his

" time been labouring for, and turn himself out stark naked in quest " of fresh notions? All the arguments that can be used will be as " little able to prevail as the wind did with the traveller to part " with his cloak, which he held only the faster." (Book iv. c. 20. § 11.)

That the phrenological doctrines do appear to your mind enveloped in all the incongruity and absurdity which you have so lavishly expressed, is explicable, without the alternative necessarily following that these qualities really belong to them. When a new proposition is submitted to our consideration, we compare it with principles which we regard as established, and if we are able to connect it consistently with them, we admit it to be true, and give it our assent. If it appear at variance with our previous opinions, we are disposed to reject it as erroneous, and rarely possess the magnanimity to enter upon a scrutiny of our first impressions, so as to discover whether they, or the new ideas, coincide most closely with nature, the only authoritative standard of physical truth. On the contrary, we too frequently regard received opinions with an undoubting and superstitious veneration, and reject new propositions as intrinsically absurd, not because we have ascertained them to be in opposition to facts, but because they do not coincide with what we previously believed to be true. Dr Thomas Brown has justly remarked, " that to those who " have not sufficient elementary knowledge of science, to feel any " interest in physical truths, as one connected system, and no habi- " tual desire of exploring the various relations of new phenomena, " *many of the facts in nature,* which have an appearance of incon- " gruity, as at first stated, do truly *seem ludicrous.*"

It now be my endeavour to show that this sentence of Dr Thomas Brown very accurately describes your mental condition on the subject of Phrenology.

Your article contains five or six distinct annunciations, that you have " completely refuted" the science, and to the surprise of your readers, it tugs and toils on at a new and additional refutation. This, while it shows that you are ill at ease as to your own success, renders an answer within moderate limits extremely difficult; and I hope, therefore, to

be excused for bringing your objections on each point into a focus, and condensing the reply to the narrowest limits consistent with perspicuity. It shall be my earnest endeavour not to mistake or misrepresent your meaning, but to quote your own words. If you had done this by me, the present reply might have been spared; for I observe, that you have generally preferred giving your own paraphrases of my statements, and have refuted these, leaving the real propositions quite unassailed. In truth, there is no review of the system of Phrenology; and no reader could form an accurate conception of that work from your representation of it. The article is a special pleading, all on one side, and its author resembles a party on his defence much more than a judge administering impartial justice.

You decline bringing Phrenology to the test of observation, because "A proposition, in point of fact, may be ambiguous or unintelligible; and before inquiring how it is proved, we must ascertain whether it has any meaning, and what that meaning truly is. When it is affirmed, that certain projections on the skull, or the brain, are the *organs* of all the *faculties* and dispositions of the mind, it will not do to proceed at once to the alleged proofs of this assertion; we must first determine what is meant by *organs*, and what by *faculties*, and in what sense these terms are here to be understood."—P. 255.

First, then, as to the organs. "Upon what grounds," you ask, "can the name of organs be applied to the bumps of the Phrenologists? or in what sense is it really intended that this name should be received in their science? *The truth*, we do not scruple to say it, is, *that there is not the smallest reason for supposing that the mind ever operates through the agency of any material organs*, except in its perception of material objects, or in the spontaneous movements of the body which it inhabits; and that this whole science rests upon a postulate or assumption, for which there is *neither any shadow of evidence, nor any show of reasoning*."—P. 267. The same proposition is repeated in p. 293, and in several other parts of the Review. The proofs adduced are the following:—"INSECTS CONTINUE TO PERFORM ALL THEIR FUNCTIONS AFTER THEIR HEADS ARE OFF; *and cold-blooded animals live and move in the same predicament!*" In a subsequent page (312)

you inform us, that "the writer of these observations is not "learned in anatomy,"—a modest declaration indeed; but one which was scarcely necessary after this specimen of physiological wisdom. The Creator erred, then, in adding the superfluous appendage of a head to insects: *you* would have managed the matter better, by retrenching this unmeaning excrescence!

As to cold-blooded animals living and moving in the same predicament, I would ask, how long do they perform these acts? But we have the authority of your own Journal against your grand proposition. "His Imperial Majesty," says the Reviewer of 1803, "has had of late too many good opportunities "of knowing that *a man* cannot continue to march, and load, and "fire, when he has left his head behind him; and the redoubtable "lecturer of Vienna has said little more. It may be wrong," continues he, "to allow a daring demonstrator of processes and "sinuosities to assert that the mind remembers, imagines, and "judges, only by the intervention of certain parts of the brain; "but it is a piece of forbearance, at least as dangerous, to al-"low a single cellar to be open in the taverns of Vienna, *or* "*memory, imagination, and judgment, to be all set to sleep by a* "*few grains of a very common and simple drug.*"—Edinburgh Review, vol. II., p. 148. Memory, imagination, and judgment then, are neither acts of "perception of material' ob-"jects, nor spontaneous movements of the body;" yet wine and opium first stimulate, and finally overpower them. How does this accord with your doctrine, "that the mind "never operates through the agency of material organs" in performing these functions?

This authority might be relied on as settling the question with you; but to convey to persons, who are not familiar with these topics, some idea of the recklessness of your assertion, a few passages from the most common medical and physiological authors may be cited. Dr Cullen says, "*we cannot doubt that* "*the operations of our intellect always depend upon certain motions* "*taking place in the brain, &c.*"—Practice of Physic, vol. II., § 1538—9.

Dr Gregory, speaking of the internal faculties of the mind, says, "Omnes hæ facultates (videlicet memoria, imaginatio,

"judicium) tam purè mentis sunt, ut primo intuitu haud quic-
"quam corporei iis inesse videatur: Docent tamen morbi qui
"eas impediunt certum cerebri statum, ut bene exerceantur
"requiri; *idque sensuum internorum primarium esse organum.*"

Magendie, whose name stands so high both in France and Britain, says, "The brain is the material instrument of "thought. This is proved by a multitude (une foule) of ex-"periments and facts."*—*Precis Elementaire de Physiologie, tome I., p.* 115. *edit.* 1816.

Your next objection is the following:—"If the theory of "the Phrenologists be right, it would seem to follow, *a fortiori*, "First, that all the five external senses must have *organs in the* "*brain*, as well as a connected apparatus or machinery beyond "it;—and, secondly, it is, at all events, a fundamental point in "their creed, that the mind *is not* in any way conscious or aware, "even as to them, that it acts by means of organs having any "locality at all. Now, the first and most plausible of these "propositions they have themselves been forced to abandon; "and both, we humbly conceive, are not only gratuitous, but, "in any sound sense, entirely unfounded and erroneous.—P. 258.

In answer to the assertion, that "all the five external senses "*must have* organs in the brain," I beg to state, that, from the views entertained by Phrenologists regarding the senses, (some of which are stated in a subsequent part of this Letter,) no other organs than those already known appear to be necessary;—but, secondly, we are quite ready to admit such organs whenever you prove their existence as matter of fact. You reply, however, that "it will not do to suggest here, or in other "cases, where the allowance of faculties is plainly insufficient, "that these are mere omissions, which may still be supplied "if necessary, and do not affect the principle of the system. The "system, it must be remembered, rests *not on principle, but on* "*observation alone.* Its advocates peril their cause on the as-"sertion, that it is *proved* by observation, and as matter of fact, "that their thirty-six bumps are the organs of thirty-six parti-"cular faculties, and no other,—that these organs have a cer-"tain definite shape and relative place and size,—and that

* These authorities are all cited in my "Essays on Phrenology," published in 1819, in answer to a denial, in the 49th Number of the Edinburgh Review, that the brain is the organ of mind. They were not reprinted in the System, because the objection had been, till you took it up again, abandoned as utterly untenable.

"among them *they cover the whole skull*, and *occupy the whole* "*surface of the brain.*"—P. 287. This is your statement; but the following is mine, printed in the work which you have reviewed:—"*There are parts at the base of the brain, in the* "*middle and posterior regions, the size of which cannot be discover-* "*ed during life, and whose functions in consequence are still un-* "*known*. From analogy, and from some pathological facts, "they are supposed to be the organs of the sensations of hun- "ger and thirst, heat and cold, *and of some other mental affec-* "*tions, for which cerebral organs have not been discovered*; but "demonstrative evidence to this effect being wanting, this con- "jecture is merely stated to incite to farther investigation."—*System of Phrenology, p.* 31. If, then, you can show that there are mental affections attending the activity of the five senses, which cannot be referred to the external organs, nor to any of the internal organs admitted by Phrenologists, it will undoubtedly follow, on the principles of this science, that such affections must have organs also; but the objection, that "there is no room for them to extend their position," is utterly unfounded.

As to the mind's consciousness of organs, I shall notice, first, the real phrenological doctrine on that point; and, secondly, your commentary upon it. In the System of Phrenology it is stated, that "the mind is not *conscious* of acting "by means of organs; and hence the material instruments, by "means of which it performs its operations in this life, and "communicates with the external world, cannot be discovered "by reflection on consciousness."—P. 25. In the Essays on Phrenology this doctrine is illustrated at some length; but the illustrations were omitted in "the System" as superfluous, the point having been conceded by every person who had considered the subject. Allow me, however, to repeat them, as you still dispute the accuracy of this fundamental principle of the science. "The *organs*, by means of which the mind acts "upon, and by means of which it receives impressions from the "external world, perform their functions without any con- "sciousness in the mind either of their existence or their ope- "rations. For example, voice is produced by the contraction "and relaxation of a number of muscles connected with the "larynx, at the command of the will; and yet consciousness "gives us no intimation either of the existence or functions of

"these muscles. In like manner, the leg and arm are extended "and withdrawn by means of the nerves of voluntary motion, "and a great number of muscles at the command of the will; "and yet of the existence and operation of these nerves and "muscles consciousness gives us no intimation. We are con- "scious of the act of volition which puts them in motion, and "of the result produced, but not of the existence and operation "of the special nerves and muscles themselves."—*Essay on Phrenology, p.* 3.

Phrenologists then say, that the mind is not conscious of smelling by means of the olfactory nerves, hearing by the auditory, or seeing by the optic nerves.

On this doctrine you remark, "but they are all agreed, "it seems, that the mind has no *knowledge* of the existence "of the organs of sense, or of the functions performed by "them."—P. 267. Here you have used the freedom to substitute "Knowledge," which I did not write, for "Consciousness," the word actually employed; and your reason for doing so will speedily appear. You proceed,—"This, to most "people, will probably appear more surprising still. Is it "meant to be said, that we do not *know*, certainly, naturally, "and immediately, that we see with our eyes, and hear with "our ears, and feel with that part of our bodies on which an "external impression is made?" This objection is absolutely created by your substituting the assertion, that "the mind has "*no knowledge* of the organs of sense," for the real proposition, that it has "no *consciousness*" of them. The Phrenologists have not said, that we *do not know* that we see by the optic nerves, but only affirm, that this fact is ascertained by *observation*, and not by instinctive consciousness; and the inference which they draw is, that if we cannot discover the existence even of such palpable organs as the auditory and olfactory nerves by means of simple consciousness or feeling, but must resort to observation to find them out, it is not wonderful that we should not be conscious of the internal organs of the mind, or that *observation* should be requisite to determine them also.

You anticipate this correction, and the answer that will be founded on it, and try to show that the words "immediately

"know and feel," are synonimous with "being conscious." You then proceed:—"The true question upon either supposition "is, whether, knowing and feeling, as, in one way or other, we "do with the most perfect distinctness, that we see with our "eyes, and hear with our ears, and that it is by these organs "alone that the mind performs these functions, *it can be truly "or even intelligibly said, that we are as little aware of acting by "material organs when we so see or hear, as we are that we love "our children, by bumps on the back of the head,* or perceive the "beauty of music by a small protuberance in the middle of the "eyebrow."—P. 260. The only shadow of plausibility in this argument depends on your confounding facts and propositions that are altogether distinct. The ears, in popular language, include the whole auditory apparatus, namely, the external ear, the tympanum, labyrinth, semicircular canals, numerous small bones, and the auditory nerve which connects these with the brain; and the "eyes," in common speech, include the eyeballs and the optic nerves. Now, "are we aware" of any thing more than the mere locality of the senses of hearing and seeing? Do you assert that we "are aware" of all the *organic apparatus now enumerated,* and that you are *conscious* that the existence of an external object becomes known to you, through the eye, only by means of an image depicted on your own retina? You certainly cannot maintain this. But we have the same general impression of the locality of the mind; we know that we do not love children by the foot, nor write reviews by the calf of the leg, but that thinking in general is performed by the head. If we go one step farther, however, and inquire whether we know that there is a brain, or an apparatus of organs in the interior of the skull, by means of which the processes of thinking are accomplished? the answer must be, that we do not know until we have ascertained the fact by observation. In like manner, I venture to assert, that mankind have found out the optic nerve to be the organ of vision, solely by observing that vision never existed without it; or, in your own words, "by anatomy and experiment." If this be sound physiology, does it warrant you to object to the doctrine which teaches, that,

in order to discover a particular portion of the brain to be the organ of Benevolence, we must observe the relation between the power of experiencing this emotion and the condition of that organic part? and yet this is the proposition which you adduce it to refute.

After stating your objections to the organs, you proceed,—

"These last considerations lead us naturally to another class of "objections which, we confess, have always appeared to us of "themselves conclusive against this new philosophy,—those we "mean which apply to the strange apparatus of *separate faculties and sentiments* into which it has parcelled out and divided "the mind.

"We are a little jealous of the word *faculties* in any philosophical discussion. *The mind, we take it, is one and indivisible;* "and if by faculties is meant parts, portions, or members, by "the aggregation of which the mind is made up, we must not "only deny their existence, but confess that we have no great "favour for a term which tends naturally to familiarize us with "such an assumption. What are called faculties of the mind, "we would consider as different *acts*, or rather *states* of it; but "if this be the just view of the matter, it is plain that it renders "it *in the highest degree improbable, if not truly inconceivable, "that those supposed faculties should have each a separate material organ.*"—P. 261.

This objection has been long ago answered in the Phrenological Journal, vol. I. p. 206, and by the Rev. David Welsh, in a note to his Life of Dr Thomas Brown, quoted on page 54 of the "System" which you were reviewing. Dr Brown maintains, that the word *faculties* means only *states* of the mind; and Mr Welsh observes, that "the only difference that the doctrines of Phrenology introduce in regard to "Dr Brown's principle is, that, instead of the feelings and "thoughts being merely the relations of the simple substance "*mind*, to its own former states, or to external objects, they are "the relations of the simple substance *mind* to certain portions "of the encephalon.

"In looking upon any object—as snow—we have the notion "of a certain colour. Now, the notion is not in the snow, but "in the mind; that is, the notion of colour is the mind existing "in a certain relation to an external object. But it is allowed, "on all hands, that there is an intervening step between the "snow and the mind. There is an affection of the optic nerve. "It will be conceded, that this does not alter the question as to "the simplicity of the mind; and if this is conceded, it is abun-

"dantly obvious, that another step in the process might be "conceived, without taking away from the simplicity of the im- "material part, and that, instead of an affection of the optic "nerve being the immediate antecedent of the notion of colour, "it might be a particular portion of the encephalon. As the "notion of colour, upon this supposition, is a relation of the "mind to the organ of Colour, it follows, that, if an organ were "changed in any respect, the state of the mind would also be "changed. Thus, if it were larger, or of a finer structure, or "more active, the perception of colour would be more delicate, "or quick, or pleasing. The same remarks might be extended "to all the organs. Where the organ of Causality is large, as "in the case of Dr Brown himself, then there will be a ten- "dency to reason; which tendency is a state of the mind in re- "lation to a material organ, which state would have been dif- "ferent had the organ been different.

"A multitude of organs may all be affecting the mind at the "same instant, and in that case a variety of feelings will be ex- "perienced; but still the mind is simple, and it is only its re- "lations to these different organs that are complex."

This metaphysical reply to your objection appears to me tolerably complete; but there are more tangible and practical answers to your denial of separate faculties and organs. Dr Barclay, in his work on Life and Organization, stated arguments on this point extremely similar to those now adduced by you, and Dr Andrew Combe answered him in the Phrenological Transactions. From his paper I select the following passages. They will show also to what extent your objections have been anticipated and refuted, apparently without your knowing any thing of the matter.

"*First*, Then," says Dr Combe, "it is an undisputed truth, that the various mental powers of man appear in succession, and as a general rule, that the reflecting or reasoning faculties are those which arrive latest at perfection. In the child, the powers of observing the existence and qualities of external objects arrive much sooner at their maturity than the reasoning faculties. Daily observation shows that the brain undergoes a corresponding change; whereas we have no evidence that the immaterial principle varies in its powers from year to year. If the brain, as a whole, is the organ of the mind, this successive development of faculties

is utterly at variance with what we should expect *a priori*; because, if the general organ is fitted for manifesting with success one mental faculty, it, one should think, ought to be equally so for the operation of all, which we see is not the case. Observation indeed shows, that different parts of the brain are really developed at different periods of life. In infancy, according to Chaussier, the cerebellum forms one-fifteenth of the encephalic mass; and in adult age, from one-sixth to one-eighth, its size being thus in strict accordance with the energy of the propensity of which it is the organ. In childhood, the middle and lower part of the forehead generally predominates; in later life, the upper lateral parts become more prominent, which facts also are in strict accordance with the periods of unfolding of the knowing and reasoning powers.

"*2d*, Genius is almost always partial, which it ought not to be, if the organ of the mind were single. A genius for poetry, for mechanics, for music, or for mathematics, sometimes appears at a very early age in individuals, who, in regard to all other pursuits, are mere ordinary men, and who, with every effort, can never attain to any thing above mediocrity.

"*3dly*, The phenomena of dreaming are at variance with the supposition of the mind manifesting all its faculties by means of a single organ, while they are quite consistent with, and explicable by, that of a plurality of organs. In dreaming, the mind experiences numerous vivid emotions, such as those of fear, joy, affection, arising, succeeding one another, and departing without control from the intellectual powers;—or, it is filled with a thousand varied conceptions, sometimes connected and rational, but more frequently disjointed and absurd, and all differing widely from the waking operations of the mind, in wanting harmony, consistency, and sense. These phenomena harmonize remarkably with the notion of a variety of faculties and organs, some of which, being active, would communicate these ideas and

feelings which constitute a dream, while others remaining asleep would, by their inactivity, permit that disordered action which characterizes the pictures formed by the fancy during sleep.

"Were the organ of mind single, it is clear that all the faculties should be asleep or awake to the same extent at the same time; or, in other words, that no such thing as dreaming could take place. Somnambulism, although in itself a species of dreaming, affords a still stronger illustration. In that state, one or more of the external as well as internal senses are awake, while the others are dormant. In this instance we *see* that the organs asleep and awake are different, as when a person walks with his eyes shut; but let us suppose that they were as much hidden as the brain, would any man infer from the phenomena, that sight, smell, taste, and voluntary motion, could be exercised by one and the same organ, when he finds all of them in different states and degrees of intensity in one individual at the same time? Never. Then, on what principle does any one draw a different inference from similar phenomena, when the internal faculties and organs are in question?

"At present, however, it is chiefly to the admitted phenomena of what are called Partial Idiocy and Partial Insanity that I am anxious to direct your attention; because these states of the mind are so plainly and strongly in contradiction with the notion of a single organ of mind, that Pinel himself, no friend to Phrenology, asks if their phenomena can be reconciled to such a conception.

"Partial Idiocy is that state in which an individual manifests one or several powers of the mind with an ordinary degree of energy, while he is deprived to a greater or less extent of the power of manifesting all the others. Pinel, Haslam, Rush, Esquirol, and, in short, every writer on insanity, speaks of the partial development of certain mental powers in idiots; and Rush in particular not only alludes to the powers of intellect, but also to the partial possession

of the moral faculties. Some idiots, he observes, are as remarkable for correct moral feelings as some great geniuses are for the reverse. In his Traité du Goitre et de la Crétinisme, Fodéré thus speaks, p. 133:—'It is remarked, that, 'by an *inexplicable singularity*, some of these individuals '(cretins), endowed with so weak minds, are *born* with a 'particular talent for copying paintings, for rhyming, or for 'music. I have known several who taught themselves to 'play passably on the organ and harpsichord; others who 'understood, without ever having had a master, the repairing 'of watches, and the construction of some pieces of mechan-'ism.' He adds, that these powers could not be attributed to the intellect, 'for these individuals not only could not read 'books which treated of the principles of mechanics, but *ils 'étaient deroutés lorsqu'on en parlait et ne se perfectionnaient 'jamais.*' It must be observed also, that these unfortunate individuals differ very much in the *kind* as well as quantity of mental power possessed. For example, an instance is given by Pinel of an idiot girl who manifested a most wonderful propensity to imitate whatever she heard or saw, but who displayed no other intellectual faculty in a perceptible degree, and never attached an idea to the sound she uttered. Dr Rush particularizes one man who was remarkable for his religious feelings, although exceedingly deficient in intellectual power, and other moral sentiments; and among the cretins, many are to be found who scarcely manifest any other faculty of the mind except that of Amativeness. The above quotation from Fodéré also illustrates this fact. One is all kindness and good nature, another quarrelsome and mischievous. One has a lively perception of harmony in music, while another has none.

"It ought also to be observed, that the characteristic features of each particular case are strictly permanent. The idiot, who to-day manifests the faculty of Tune, the feeling of Benevolence, of Veneration, or of Self-esteem, will not to-morrow, nor in a year, change the nature of his predominant manifestations. Were the deficiency of the single organ the cause of idiocy, these phenomena ought not to appear; for the general organ being able to manifest one fa-

culty, ought, according to the circumstances in which the individual is placed, to be equally able to manifest all others, whose activity may be required, and thus the character of the idiocy ought to change with every passing event, which it never does. Fodéré calls these 'inexplicable singularities,' and, no doubt, on his and Dr Barclay's theory they truly are so. To the Phrenologist, however, they offer no difficulty, for they are in perfect harmony with *his* views. The difference in the *kind* of powers manifested in cases of partial idiocy, between the capacity for mechanics, for instance, and the sentiment of Veneration, Self-esteem, or Benevolence, is as great as between the sensations excited by the perception of a sound, a taste, or a smell. To infer, therefore, that one organ serves for the manifestation of all these faculties, is really much the same in point of logic as if we were to suppose all the external senses to communicate with the mind through the medium of only one nerve, in spite of the facts of many individuals being blind who are not deaf, or deaf and still able to see and smell.

"Although partial idiots manifest one or more faculties more powerfully than others, yet they seldom or never manifest any with the energy of a sound mind. Consequently, according to the phrenological system, we ought in such cases generally to find the brain defective in size. Now, Pinel, and many other opponents, inform us, that this is precisely the case; and in the course of my own observations, both on the Continent and in this country, I have found the same fact to hold good in a considerable number of cases. It does not always occur, because, although small size is a frequent cause of idiocy, it is by no means the only one. I may farther mention, that Phrenologists, by *actual observation*, have found in idiots those parts of the brain most fully developed which corresponded to the organs of the faculties most strongly manifested by them; and observation also has, in some instances, shown the entire absence of those convolutions which form a part of the organs of

certain faculties in which they were deficient. Indeed, by comparing the brains and mental manifestations of some idiots with those of healthy individuals, the conviction of a plurality of organs is almost forced upon the mind by the evident and distinctive characteristics of each. In the collection of the Society, there is a cast of the brain of an idiot girl, in which no trace of certain convolutions, which in the ordinary state indicate the development of the organs of *Causality*, can be perceived, while others are distinctly recognisable. I have also seen in the possession of Dr Spurzheim a cast of a brain in which the organs of *Veneration* were wanting, and a deep hollow existed in the corresponding situation.

"We come now to the consideration of Partial Insanity, or that state in which one or more faculties of the mind are diseased, without affecting the integrity of the remainder. This state, which is also known by the name of Monomania, appears equally with the former to exclude the possibility of one organ executing the functions of all the mental faculties; for the argument constantly recurs, that if the organ be sufficiently sound to manifest one faculty in its perfect state, it ought to be equally capable of manifesting all,—which, however, is known to be in direct opposition to fact. Having, in a former paper "On Insanity," as illustrated by Phrenology, laid before the Society a great variety of cases connected with the point under discussion, I shall on the present occasion confine myself to the statement of a very few instances, merely in illustration of the proposition.

"Of *folie raisonnante* Pinel thus speaks:—'Hospitals 'for the insane are never without some example of mania 'marked by acts of extravagance, or even of fury, with a kind 'of judgment preserved in all its integrity, if we judge of it 'by the conversation; the lunatic gives the most just and 'precise answers to the questions of the curious; no incohe-'rence of ideas is discernible; he reads and writes letters as 'if his understanding were perfectly sound; and yet, by a 'singular contrast, he tears in pieces his clothes and bed-'covers, and always finds some plausible reason to justify his

'wandering and his fury. This sort of mania is *so far from* 'rare, that the vulgar name of *folie raisonnante* has been given 'to it.'—P. 93. A very striking instance of furious mania, with integrity of intellect, will be found, quoted from Pinel, in the Preliminary Dissertation, and which it is unnecessary for me to repeat. I shall, however, add another equally interesting case from the same author. 'On ne peut conce-'voir la nature d'une certaine aliénation, qui est comme un 'mélange de raison et d'extravagance, de discernement, et 'd'un vrai délire, *objets qui semblent s'exclure reciproquement.*' 'One lunatic,' he continues, 'whose malady is of seven 'years' standing, is perfectly aware of his state, and forms as 'sound a judgment of it as if it were a thing which did not 'immediately concern himself. He tries to make efforts to 'free himself from it; but, on the other hand, he is convinced 'that it is incurable. If any one remarks the incoherence in 'his ideas in his talking, he readily acknowledges it, but an-'swers, that this inclination overpowers him so much, that he 'cannot but submit. He adds, that he does not guarantee 'the soundness of the judgments which he forms, but that it 'is not in his power to rectify them. His understanding is 'much more altered in another respect, that he believes him-'self above all ordinary rules; and he thinks, that if he once 'resolved to approximate to other men in his conduct, he 'must begin by doing most extraordinary things, from which 'the greatest evils and even atrocities would result to himself. 'He believes, for example, that if he wiped his nose, that or-'gan would remain in his handkerchief; that if he shaved 'himself, he must of necessity cut his throat, and that, at the 'first attempt to walk, his legs would break like glass. He 'sometimes subjects himself to rigorous abstinence for seve-'ral days, under the impression, that if he took aliments, they 'would suffocate him. What are we to think of an aberra-'tion of intellect so regular and so singular?'—Page 94.

"It would be easy for me to multiply such instances as these of the partial affection of the mental faculties, but it is needless to occupy your time with more, and the above are amply sufficient to show the nature and bearing of such cases. Here again the difficulty recurs of reconciling such facts with the idea of one organ executing all the functions of the mind. How comes that organ to be able to manifest one, but *not all* the faculties? or, How does it happen that these affections retain the same characteristic features

throughout? That the patient, who labours under religious melancholy is found the same to-day as yesterday, and will be found the same to-morrow, for a month, or for a year? or how does it happen that a person may be insane, and yet aware of being so? If the single organ were affected, surely all the faculties of mind, of which it is said to be the instrument, ought *in every case* to be equally deranged, and the patient ought to pass in one moment from an abyss of despondency to the abodes of bliss, from the state of listless apathy to that of demoniacal furor. We may be told that this is sometimes found actually to be the case, and no doubt it is so; but it is far more rare than the other state, and is easily explained on the phrenological principles; for, in such cases, the whole brain, including of course *all* the organs, is diseased. This state, therefore, affords a true picture of the nature of insanity, such as it would *necessarily* be in every instance, if the organ of mind were single. It must strike every one who has been at all in the habit of seeing cases of insanity, or of reading histories of them in books, that there is scarcely a single case to be met with which is, I do not say explained by, but even consistent with, the division and functions of the faculties assigned by the metaphysicians. Pinel, Crichton, and many other very eminent and very philosophical men, have laboured to reconcile some species of insanity to the metaphysical systems, which they had severally adopted; but, with all their genius, and with all their unwearied industry, they have hitherto laboured in vain. Whereas, not a single instance will be found which is in contradiction with the principle of a plurality of organs, nor even, as far as I am aware, with the existence of such organs as we consider already ascertained.

"Besides the phenomena of idiocy and insanity, there is also another class of facts (to which however I shall only allude) equally at variance with the supposition of a single organ of mind, viz. partial injuries of the brain, which are

said to have occurred without injury to the mental faculties. Having in a former communication to the Society examined these cases in detail, I need not repeat them, but merely observe, that if every part of the brain is concerned in every mental act, it appears strange that all the processes of thought should be manifested with *equal success*, when a great part of the brain is injured or destroyed, as when its whole structure is sound and entire. If the fact were really as here stated, the brain would form an exception to the general laws of organic structure; for although a part of the lungs may be sufficient to maintain respiration, or a part of the stomach to execute digestion, in such a way as to support life, there is no instance in which these functions have been as successfully performed by impaired organs as they would have been by lungs and stomach in their natural state of health and activity. The Phrenologists are reduced to no such strait to reconcile the occurrence of such cases with their system; for as soon as the principle of a plurality of organs is acknowledged, they admit of an easy and satisfactory explanation.

"From the preceding considerations, then, it appears, that any theory, founded upon the notion of a single organ, is uniformly at variance with all that is ascertained to be fact in the philosophy of mind; and that, on the other hand, the phrenological principle of a plurality of organs, while it satisfactorily explains *most* of these facts, is consistent with *all* of them. Its truth is thus almost demonstrated, not by far-fetched or pretended facts, which few can verify, but by facts which, to use Dr Barclay's own expression, daily 'obtrude themselves upon the notice of the senses.' This principle, indeed, bears on the face of it so much greater a degree of probability than the opposite one, as to have long since forced itself on the minds of many inquirers. Fodéré himself, a very zealous opponent of Phrenology, after recapitulating a great many reasons similar to those already mentioned, which had

been employed by philosophers antecedent to Gall and Spurzheim, for believing in a plurality of mental organs, is constrained to admit, that "this kind of reasoning has been 'employed '*par la plupart* des anatomistes,' from the time of Ga-'len down to those of our own day, and even by the great Hal-'ler *qui eprouvait le besoin* d'assigner une fonction à chaque 'departement du cerveau,'" &c. Pinel also, (in the article "Manie," in the Encyclopedie Methodique,) after relating some cases of partial insanity, asks, "si *tout cet ensemble de faits peut* 'se concilier avec l'opinion d'un siège ou d'un principe unique de 'l'entendement." If, then, the majority of anatomists, for the last 2000 years, and such illustrious physiologists as Haller, and the others above referred to, were led to the belief of a plurality of mental organs, by a perception of the contradiction and inconsistency existing between the phenomena, and the supposition of the whole brain being the single organ of mind, I cannot be far wrong in saying, that the latter notion, although it may be adopted by Dr Barclay, so far from being self-evident, appears so improbable as to require even stronger facts to prove it than the phrenological view."—*Phren. Trans., pp.* 413—426.

But let us return to the reasons urged by you, for denying a plurality of faculties and organs:—"By the example of the "external senses and their known organs," you say, "it is no "doubt proved, that certain faculties or states of the mind "have material organs; and why, it may be asked, should it "not be inferred that other faculties have them also?"—This is a very fair question; and you answer, 1*st*, That we believe the "functions of seeing and hearing, &c. to be carried on by mate-"rial organs, *only* because we *know* and *feel* that they are so." Now, you *know* that you see by the optic nerve only, because you have been told so, or have observed the effects of injuries of it on other men; but I deny that you *feel* its functions at all. In fact, Magendie,* to whom you refer as an authority, has recently stated reasons for doubting whether the optic nerve is at all connected with vision,—a point which could not, by any possibility, be open to question, if we had an intuitive consciousness of its functions. You pro-

* Compend. of Physiol., Milligan's Translat., 2d edit., p. 48.

ceed,—" And we do *not* believe that the mind performs its " other functions by a like machinery, *because we do not know* " *or feel* any thing analogous in their operations."—If I am correct in the preceding reply, it follows, that if you choose to pursue *the same means* to discover whether " the mind per- " forms its other functions by a like machinery," you may come to *know* that men love their children by a " bump on " the back of the head," just as they hear by the auditory nerve. It is not the fact that men *feel* either the one or the other. If you do not incline to believe on testimony, or to practise a course of observation to find out the existence and functions of the " internal machinery," you must, of pure necessity, remain altogether uninformed on the subject; but you would have remained equally uninstructed in regard to the organs of the external senses, if you had as resolutely rejected these means of information. Indeed, it is amusing to observe your inconsistencies. In p. 258, in speaking of the eyes, ears, and touch, you say, that " *anatomy* and *experi-* " *ment* show farther, that the sensibility of these organs de- " pends on the *nerves* which belong to them."—A little before you referred this knowledge to consciousness.

" If," (you continue,) " the mind, in comparing or resenting, " made use of certain organs in the head, just as it does in hearing " and seeing, we cannot but think that the fact would be equal- " ly certain and notorious; but, as we know or feel nothing at " all analogous, we cannot believe that any thing of the kind " takes place."—Imagine for a moment, that a reviewer of the days of Galileo had objected to the doctrine of the revolution of the globe, " that if the earth did turn on its axis, we can- " not but think that this would have been certain and noto- " rious; but, as we know or feel nothing at all analogous, " we cannot believe that any thing of the kind takes place," how would you have despised his weakness? The fact which you dispute lies out of the region of consciousness as much as the revolution of the globe; and if you will not condescend to discover it by the exercise of your understanding, you must continue unconvinced of its truth. The analogy of the *senses* is against you.

Your second answer is, that "all the organs which we actually know to be used by the mind are used to connect it with material and external objects; and indeed it is difficult for us to conceive how we could ever have become acquainted with such objects, except by means of a material apparatus in our living bodies. *But the other functions of mind do not so connect us with matter;* and therefore there is not only no such reason for supposing their existence, but there is a corresponding difficulty in the conception."—P. 262. I must here again refer you to the well-known effects of wine, opium, and nitrous oxide gas, on the mental manifestations. You who assert, "that there is *not the least reason to suppose that any of our faculties,* but those which connect us with external objects, or direct the movements of our bodies, *act by material organs at all,*" (p. 293.) are certainly called upon to explain how an immaterial principle can be excited to activity, hurried away in ungovernable ecstacy, or laid low in a state of suspension and debasement, by means of such material substances as are here enumerated.

But, to proceed with your answers, you say, "*3dly,* And this is what chiefly concerns our immediate argument, all those functions which operate through the organs of sense are of a *definite and peculiar nature,* and so totally unlike those which the Phrenologists would furnish with like instruments, as to make the inference of their being actually so furnished in the highest degree improbable and extravagant."—In part of this statement, I cordially agree with you, viz. that the functions of the senses are of a *definite and peculiar nature,* and that the functions of the internal organs must be equally definite and precise, otherwise they cannot be supposed to exist; accordingly, I am quite ready to peril the cause of Phrenology upon the fact, that Hope is as different from Fear, Benevolence from Combativeness, Self-esteem from Veneration, Tune from Causality, as Seeing is from Hearing; and that all these feelings, emotions, and intellectual powers, are also as precise in their nature as the senses. No doubt, you confound and confuse the phrenological faculties in a very ingenious and imposing manner; but you do not cite the recorded descriptions of them, and prove that

they are really what you represent them to be. With two exceptions, to be afterwards noticed, you give your own account of the faculties, and pass it off for mine. It is necessary only to compare the work reviewed with your pages to be convinced of this.

You deny that the phrenological faculties are primitive principles of mind, or distinguishable from each other. Let us inquire, then, what other philosophers have said regarding these powers. As to

Amativeness, You admit that "injuries of the *cerebellum* generally seem to affect this propensity," (p. 314.) and of course cannot well dispute that it is a distinct feeling. Mr Stewart admits it. (Outlines, p. 82.)

Philoprogenitiveness.—This is admitted by Reid and Stewart. (Outlines, p. 99.)

Concentrativeness is stated by the Phrenologists themselves as unascertained.

Adhesiveness is admitted by Mr Stewart in his Outlines, page 87, as "the desire of society;" by Dr Thomas Brown in Lecture 67; and by Lord Kames, in his Sketches, under the title of "an appetite for society," vol. II. p. 153.

Combativeness is admitted by Dr Reid, and by Mr Stewart (Outlines, p. 105.), under the name of "*sudden resentment*;" and Dr Thomas Brown gives a beautiful and accurate description of it, under the name of "*instant anger*," vol. III. p. 324. Lord Kames treats of it under the name of "*courage*," vol. I. p. 42. 48.

Destructiveness.—This propensity is admitted by Lord Kames, under the name of "*an appetite for hunting*," vol. I. p. 86; and "*the principle of malevolence*," vol. II. p. 178, and by Dr Brown, Lect. 72.

Constructiveness.—This is not adverted to by metaphysicians as an original principle; but by writers on insanity it is generally recognised. (See the citation from Fodéré, p. 21 of this Letter.)

Acquisitiveness.—This is disputed by Mr Stewart and Dr Brown, but admitted by Lord Kames under the name of "*a sense of property*," and as "an *appetite* for storing up "things of use," vol. I. p. 123. In the "System of Phrén-"ology," p. 139, I have cited Esquirol, Acrel, Dr Rush, and the "*Journal de Paris*," as describing its diseased manifestations.

Secretiveness is very accurately described by Lord Bacon in his essay "On Cunning."

Self-esteem.—Dr Reid and Mr Stewart, (Outlines, p. 90,) treat of this sentiment under the designation of the "Desire "of Power." Dr Thomas Brown calls it "Pride," and defines it as "that feeling of vivid pleasure which attends the "consciousness of our excellence," vol. III. p. 300. Lord Kames refers to it as the "Sense of Dignity," vol. I. p. 116; and again under the name of "Pride," vol. I. p. 344.

Love of Approbation.—This sentiment corresponds to the "*Desire of Esteem*" of Dr Reid and Mr Stewart, and to the "*Desire of Glory*" of Dr Thomas Brown. Lord Kames calls it, "*the Appetite for Praise*," vol. II. p. 192.

Cautiousness is described by Lord Kames with perfect correctness under the name of "Fear." "All weak animals," says he, "are endowed with *a principle of fear*, which prompts "them to shun danger; and *fear*, THE FIRST PASSION DISCO-"VERED IN AN INFANT, is raised by every new face; the infant "shrinks, and hides itself in the bosom of its nurse," vol. II. p. 177. Dr T. Brown ranks "*Melancholy*" among the primitive emotions, which is one of the effects of this faculty in a state of constant but not violent activity. In all works on insanity, "*Melancholy*" is admitted in the classification of mental diseases.

Benevolence is admitted by Reid, Stewart, and by Brown, Lect. 59.

Veneration is treated of by Lord Kames as "a Sense of "Deity," vol. IV. p. 201. It is not adverted to as an original principle by Stewart, Reid, or Brown; but "Piety," as

a distinct sentiment or affection, is recognised by hundreds of authors on human character, from Virgil downwards. Esquirol, and other writers on insanity, describe its diseased states.

Hope is adverted to as a primitive principle by Stewart. Outlines, p. 232.

Ideality corresponds to Lord Kames' "*Senses of Grace* and *Taste*, vol. I. p. 196; to Dr Thomas Brown's "*original Emotion of Beauty*," vol. III. p. 134—5; and authors on insanity describe its diseased affections.

Wonder is noticed by Dr Adam Smith (History of Astronomy, p. 2), as a sentiment; Dr Thomas Brown admits it as an *original emotion*, vol. III. p. 59; and Lord Kames expressly mentions it as an original feeling of the mind.

Conscientiousness corresponds to the moral sense or emotion of the metaphysicians. Cudworth, Hutcheson, Kames, Reid, Stewart, and Brown, all admit it. Lord Kames says, "*the moral sense is born with us*, and so is taste; yet both "of them require much cultivation," vol. I. p. 196; and the diseases of it are described in works on insanity.

Firmness is not described by the metaphysicians; but firmness, perseverance, obstinacy, stubbornness, are recognised by many authors and observers as fundamental traits of character, and these are all referable to this faculty.

Individuality—higher and lower—which you define to be "an instant and rapid observation and disentanglement of "fleeting events, or complicated appearances," (p. 309), corresponds nearly to the "*desire of knowledge*" of the metaphysicians. Lord Kames speaks of "*an appetite for* "*knowledge*," vol. II. p. 192.

Form,
Size,
Weight,
Colouring,
Locality,
} These are not recognized by metaphysical writers.

Order corresponds to Lord Kames's sense of "Order," vol. IV., p. 125, and of "Symmetry," vol. I., p. 116.

Time, *Tune*, } These are not recognized by metaphysicians.

Language is admitted by Mr Stewart "as an auxiliary "faculty and principle," (Outlines, p. 68); and Dr Thomas Brown's power of "Simple Suggestion" includes the whole, from Individuality downwards.

Comparison.—Malebranche and Lord Bacon have both discriminated a "radical distinction" betwixt minds; "that "some have greater power, and are more fitted for the ob- "servation of the *differences*, others for the observation of "the *resemblances* of things." (*Quoted in System of Phrenology*, pp. 354—5.) This power of observing "resemblances" is Comparison.

Causality.—This and Comparison correspond to the power of "*Relative Suggestion*" of Dr Thomas Brown. Lord Kames speaks of a "*Sense of Cause*," vol. IV. p. 103.

Wit is the "*Sense of the Ludicrous*" of the metaphysicians. Lord Kames admits "*a Sense of Ridicule.*"

Imitation is recognized by almost all writers on the mind.

In fact, twenty of the phrenological faculties are recognized by Lord Kames alone.

To return to your objections to the phrenological faculties:—"Our perception of sounds," you say, "is quite in- "dependent of our perception of colours, odours, or tastes; "and would be precisely what it is, though none of those per- "ceptions, or the objects of them, existed in the universe. It is "in truth this palpable separation and *independence* of these dif- "ferent classes of sensations which leads us to describe the ca- "pacity of receiving them as a separate function or faculty of "the mind."—P. 263. To all this I readily accede; but when you say, that, "in this respect, the case of the imaginary faculties "of the Phrenologists is not only in no degree analogous, but "directly the reverse," I simply refer you to the authorities just cited, which prove, that the existence of at least *seven-*

tenths of them, as "separate and independent classes" of emotions or intellectual powers, is actually admitted by the most accurate and profound metaphysicians of Britain.

Immediately after the passage last cited, you proceed:—"In this way it is obvious, that our knowledge of the organ "(of an external sense) is *antecedent* to our knowledge of the "faculty, and that it is truly by reference to the *former* that the "*latter* is recognized and determined."

There is much reason to doubt the soundness of this proposition. The infant mind knows that it sees, hears, smells, tastes, and feels long *before* it knows that it has optic, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and *sentiatory* nerves. In fact, mankind could not have assigned functions to the organs of sense at all, until after they had experienced and discriminated the sensations; because the organ, *contemplated by itself*, is a mere unmeaning mass of matter. Imagine that you were to present the ear to a man born deaf, and to desire him to describe the use of it, could he do so? and yet this is a fair and appropriate example of the possibility of discovering the faculty by *antecedently* knowing the organ.

You tell us that, in this respect also, the case of the phrenological faculties is "not only in no degree analogous, but "directly the reverse. As to these, it must be admitted that we "have no antecedent knowledge of the existence of any mate-"rial organs; and the existence of the faculties, therefore, must "be assumed on quite different *data*, if it is not rather imagined "without any reason at all."—P. 263.

The order of Dr Gall's discoveries was the following. He *first* distinguished different mental talents and dispositions in his brothers, sisters, and school-fellows; *secondly*, he observed differences in the forms of their heads; *thirdly*, he ascertained that the forms indicated particular developments of brain; and, *lastly*, he ascertained, by extensive observation, that particular forms and particular talents or dispositions, were concomitant in all sane and healthy individuals. This is exactly analogous to the real method with the senses. We first know that we see, and then, "by anatomy and experiment," discover the connexion of the optic nerve with this operation. After the principle of distinct organs is de-

termined, we may infer, that a particular unappropriated part of the brain *is an organ*, before we know its functions; but this knowledge does not enable us at once to designate its uses.*

Near the beginning of your article the following sentence occurs:—"If it were asserted that every man detected "cheating at play would be found to have the figure of a nine "of diamonds in the transverse section of the nail of his great-"toe, we suspect there are not many people who would think it "worth while to verify the fact by experiment."—P. 256; and you insinuate by this, that it is equally idle to look for the organs of the mental faculties in the brain. There are three distinctions, however, between the cases, which are worth noticing. In the *First* place, it is a well-established principle in physiology, that *different* functions are never performed by the *same organ*. The optic nerve does not both see and hear; and we already know, that the great-toe performs a certain function,—that of muscular motion,—distinct from cheating at cards. *Secondly*, the *brain* has no ascertained function, if it is not the organ of mind. Dr Roget, your fellow-labourer in the refutation of Phrenology, says, that "the brain is *still as incomprehensible in its func-*"*tions* as it is subtile and complex in its anatomy."—(Art. Cranioscopy in Sup. to Encyc. Brit.) *Thirdly*, Consciousness localizes the mind in the head; although it does not reveal what organs are in the interior of the skull; and as the brain is found, by observation, to occupy that cavity, there are much better reasons, even *a priori*, for looking for the organs of mind in the encephalon than in the nail of the great-toe.

The next objection is, that "so far from supplying ori-"ginal, definite, and independent impressions, the greater part "of the phrenological faculties presuppose the existence of such

* You have one merit, however, that of consistency in your positions, which it is but fair to acknowledge. You maintain, that knowledge of the organ must precede knowledge of the faculty; but as you admit some faculties in the mind of which you do not know the organs, you very properly deny that they have organs at all. This, at least, is consistency in error.

"impressions, and seem to have little other function than to mo-
"dify or direct the functions of other faculties. Thus, Love of
"Approbation presupposes an habitual communication of sen-
"timents with other men;—Veneration, a custom of observing
"and comparing the powers and qualities of different beings;—
"Acquisitiveness, the general development of the idea of pro-
"perty;—and Cautiousness, an experience of the occasions and
"consequences of many forms of danger."—P. 263.

I admit the soundness of the greater number of these observations; but what then?—Do not the eyes presuppose light, and objects to be seen,—the stomach hunger, and objects to be eaten,—the horns of the buffalo enemies to be overcome, and the claws of the lion prey to be caught and devoured? and are we to infer from this, that these different instruments are not primitive institutions of nature, but fashioned by the animals themselves, after the occasions for using them have occurred? If the Creator framed man for the obvious purpose of living in society,—of comparing himself with other beings,—of subsisting upon property, and of occasionally encountering dangers, what could be more reasonable than to bestow on him, in anticipation of these circumstances, the primitive faculties and organs to which you here object? Could he make these for himself *after* he came to need them, or ought the work of creation to have proceeded piecemeal, each faculty being supplied for the first time only when a demand was made for its services?

You enter into a train of gratuitous assertion and confused argument to establish the *unreasonableness* of admitting several of the phrenological faculties as primitive principles of mind. I might simply refer to the authorities already cited, which show that principles precisely similar to by far the greater number of them have been recognized by the profoundest metaphysicians of the present and preceding ages, and, on this account, doubt whether your *dicta* on this subject should be received in opposition to the opinions of so many distinguished men. But it may be worth while briefly to examine a few of your positions, and to judge of them by their intrinsic merits.

You say that "*our old philosophers* were *all pretty well*

"*agreed,* that it was *the same principle* (namely *Benevolence*), "that was, in every case, at the bottom of our regard and affec- "tion for sentient beings of all descriptions; though it was va- "riously modified by a consideration of the different qualities of "the objects to which it was directed, and the different relations "in which they might happen to stand to us; and when their "attention was called to the distinctions that might be pointed "out between the kind of love they bore to their children and "that they felt for their parents, or the attachment they cherish- "ed to their young female friends, as compared with their an- "cient male ones,—or to the worthies of their own country and "those of foreign lands,—or to inferiors and superiors of their "own or of other races, *they thought all this pretty well explained* "by saying, that it was the GENERAL BENEVOLENT FEELING "modified, in the case of children, by *a sense of the weakness, "innocence, and dependence of their condition;* in the case of pa- "rents, by *respect for their experience and authority,* and grati- "tude for the obligations they had conferred;—in the case of "young women, by *emotions of sex;*—of our own countrymen, "by associations of patriotic partiality," &c.—P. 265.

Now, in the first place, it is not true that the old philosophers gave any such explanation as is here laid in their names. They admitted sexual love, love of children, and desire of society, as distinct principles from Benevolence; and you are not supported by them in asserting that all these are mere modifications of one general benevolent feeling. But, in point of fact, you only *intend* to maintain this doctrine, and do not in *reality do so.* The benevolent feeling, you say, is modified;—by what?—*by itself,*—if there be only one general feeling.—But this is not what you allege;—it is modified, you say, in the case of children, by "a *sense of weakness,*" (Philoprogenitiveness); in the case of parents, by "*respect* for their *experience and authority,*" (Veneration); in the case of young women by "*emotions of sex,*" (Amativeness); of our own countrymen, "*by associations of patriotic partiality,*" (Adhesiveness). All these modifying feelings then must necessarily subsist *distinct,* not only from *Benevolence,* but from *each other,* otherwise there is no sense in your words. The phrenological analysis of these mental affections is, that they arise from Benevolence, acting in combination with the other faculties now specified;

and this is precisely your doctrine also, if you distinctly understood it yourself.

On page 264 you say, our love, "considered simply as "love, may be strong or weak, sober or frantic, grave or gay. "All that depends, of course, upon the shape and size of its "own peculiar organs; but its *constancy* is the concern of an "entirely different faculty, which has a goodly organ of its own "in another region of the skull, and has no more connexion "with it, physically or metaphysically, than smelling has with feeling." All this you are pleased to designate as a strong case of absurdity. But on p. 265, after the observations just cited about love of children, love of parents, love of young women, &c., you continue,—"With regard to the con- "stancy of these attachments, again, that was generally sup- "posed to depend *partly* on the *judgment* or *deliberation* with "which they had been formed, and *partly* on what might be "called the *firmness* or *gravity* of the character to which they "belonged."—P. 265. Now, can any thing be plainer than that here you yourself admit the constancy to depend on something *different from the affections themselves?*—It depends, you say, "partly on judgment," and "partly on *firmness* or *gravity* of character:" and, if so, how can you possibly charge the Phrenologists with absurdity for saying, that constancy in love depends on Adhesiveness, acting along with Intellect, directing it to proper objects, and with Firmness, which produces steadiness or gravity of character? Does it not afford a strong presumption in favour of Phrenology, that, whenever you write sense concerning the mind, you fall, by inevitable necessity, and altogether unknowingly to yourself, into an exact accordance with its doctrines? Will you favour me by now reading p. 266 of the Review, commencing at the top, and ending two-thirds down? That passage certainly carries a sting; but if it does not prick its author, it is innocuous; for it has not touched the Phrenologists.

Memory is the next topic of your animadversions. You maintain that there is such "a thing as a good memory in general;" and are very severe upon the phrenological theory of this function of the mind. Your doctrines, however, are so utterly disowned by experience and disproved by

facts, that I reckon it a mere waste of words to refute them. The phrenological doctrine is, that Memory is merely a mode of activity of the various intellectual faculties; it "implies a new conception of impressions previously received, "attended with the idea of past time, and consciousness of their "former existence, and it follows the order of the events as they "happened in nature. Each organ will enable the mind to re-"call the impressions which it served at first to receive. Thus, "the organ of Tune will recall notes formerly heard, and give "the memory of music. Form will recall figures formerly "observed, and give the memory of persons, of pictures, or of "crystals, and produce a talent for becoming learned in matters "connected with such objects. Individuality will give the me-"mory of facts, and render a person skilled in history, both na-"tural and civil. A person in whom Causality is powerful "will possess a natural memory for metaphysics. Hence, there "may be as many kinds of memory as there are Knowing and "Reflecting Organs. As the recollection of facts and occur-"rences is what is commonly meant, in popular language, by a "great memory, individuals so gifted will generally be found "to possess a good development of Individuality, and probably "of Language to express them."—*System of Phrenology*, p. 393.

I presume you are aware that Dr Thomas Brown, no mean authority in metaphysics, has done away with Memory as a general faculty, and substituted for it his principles of relative suggestion. As to the organs, again, Dr Watts seems to have anticipated, by a very acute conjecture, the real philosophy of Memory. He says, "It is most probable "that those very fibres of the brain, which assist at the first "idea or perception of an object, are the same which assist also "at the recollection of it; and then it will follow that the me-"mory has no special part of the brain devoted to its own ser-"vice, but uses all those in general which subserve our sensa-"tion, as well as our thinking and reasoning powers."—P. 18.

You proceed:—"It follows by necessary consequence, that "it is by the nose we *remember* smells, and by the eye that we "have memory of colours," and you then exclaim, "Can it "really be thought necessary to inquire into the alleged *proofs* "of propositions so manifestly preposterous?" You might as well have said that it is by the legs we remember a walk. But would any person reading your last remark suppose that the following sentence occurs in the work you are reviewing?—"Whatever perceptions or impressions received from external

"objects can be renewed by an act of recollection, *cannot de-*
"*pend exclusively upon the senses;* because the organs of sense
"are not subject to the will, and never produce the impressions
"which depend upon their constitution, except when excited by
"an external cause."—*System of Phrenology, p.* 262.

You first object against Phrenology, that its faculties are too numerous, and then abuse it because they are too few. The re-statement of a simple proposition in physiology will suffice in answer to all you advance on these topics. Different functions are never performed by the same organ, and hence there are distinct nerves for hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, feeling; and you seem also to have heard of the discovery which Dr Spurzheim predicted before it was made, that there are nerves of voluntary motion apart from those of feeling; and you half admit Amativeness to be connected with the cerebellum. Follow out this principle then, and you will arrive at sound conclusions. There must be a distinct organ for every separate and primitive mental affection, however great or small the number may be. The number and nature of them is determined by the Creator; and even the Editor of the Edinburgh Review makes but a sorry figure in arraigning the wisdom of His institutions. If the same nerve does not both see and hear, neither is it probable that the same part of the brain will feel both Benevolence and Hatred. Whenever, therefore, you are able to point out clearly and definitely, an independent mental principle for which no organ has been discovered, you are certainly entitled to say that the phrenological system is still defective, which, you will observe, we also distinctly admit; or, on the other hand, if you point out a part of the brain which bears no relation in its size to the vigour of any known faculty, you are equally authorised to designate this as an organ of which the functions are not discovered.

You, however, say, that, "If a separate faculty and organ
"is insisted on for every separate and distinct *perception or idea,*
(this is *your* statement, and not that of the Phrenologists,) "we
"really see no reason for not having an organ not only for every
"shade of colour, but for every diversity of quality by which

"external objects are distinguished—for the smoothness of oil "as distinguished from the smoothness of water—the soft- "ness of silk as different from the softness of wool—or the "roughness of a second-day's beard from the roughness of "a rough-cast wall. Our *thoughtful* readers," you continue, "will see at once how deep this goes into the whole theory." In answer, I observe, 1*st*, That the Phrenologists do not assign a separate organ to each "distinct *perception* or *idea*;" the olfactory nerve serves to smell both balm and assafœtida, because both are *smells*; and the organ of Colour to perceive both "the red of a rose" and "the blue of the sky," because both are colours. *Secondly*, there *is* an organ for every *real* "diversity of quality by which external objects "are distinguished;" for example, there is one organ for perceiving Colour, and another for perceiving Size; and these distinct organs, so far as we can guess at final causes, appear to have been instituted by the Creator, just because the mental affections excited by these qualities are altogether distinct; the notion of the size of St Paul's not being in any degree a modification of the notion of its colour. This may appear to you very absurd; but in point of principle it is not more so than the institution of one set of nerves to move the hand, and another set to feel with, after it is put in motion. *Thirdly*, you must have had a poor notion of the discrimination of your "*thoughtful* readers," when you imagined that they could not discover that "the *smoothness*" of oil is *not a different quality* from "the *smoothness*" of water; because smoothness is just smoothness, softness is softness, and roughness roughness, whether occurring in oil, water, or a beard.

On pages 274, 5, 6, you are facetious on the faculty of Concentrativeness; but the whole appearance of absurdity which you have given to that subject owes its existence to your erroneous representation of it. In the System of Phrenology it is stated again and again, that the faculties and organs were discovered by observation, and not invented. On page 77, under the title "Concentrativeness," it is said, that "Observation proves that this is a distinct *organ*, because "it is sometimes found large, when the organs of Philoprogeni-

"tiveness and Self-esteem, lying below and above it, are small, "and sometimes small when these are large." The ideas of Dr Gall and those of Dr Spurzheim, concerning the *faculty* connected with it, are then stated, after which my own observations are mentioned; as these differ from the ideas of Dr Spurzheim it is said. "From this and some other objections of Dr "Spurhzeim, which I pass over without comment, I am con- "vinced that he has not correctly apprehended the quality of "mind which I designate by Concentrativeness. This must no "doubt be my fault; but it affords a good reason for not pro- "longing disputation." The concluding paragraph is as follows:—"The leading objects of these discussions is to enable "the reader to form an idea of the mental quality, *if it be such*, "intended to be designated by Concentrativeness, so that he "may be able to decide on the function of the organ by his own "observations. It acts along with the feelings as well as with "the intellect. Abstract reasoning is not admitted in Phre- "nology as proof in favour of any organ of faculty; and "I have observed, that, by leading the mind insensibly to "adopt a conclusion for or against particular ideas, it produces "a tendency to seek support for opinions rather than truth, "and thereby retards the progress of accurate investigation. "The function is stated *as only probable*, and stands open for "further elucidation."—*System of Phrenology*, p. 84.

Now, in this discussion the only point given out by Dr Gall, Dr Spurzheim, and myself, as *certain*, is the existence of *the organ*; and we all state the *faculty* connected with it as undetermined. Our views regarding the *faculty* are not so irreconcilable as you seem to imagine;* but assuming, for the sake of argument, that they are at utter variance, what *conclusion* do we arrive at? Does Dr Gall say that *his* faculty is *determined*? Does Dr Spurzheim assert that a *different power* is *proved* to be connected with the organ, and do I maintain that a *third* mental quality is *ascertained* to be situated there? If we did, then you would have good ground for questioning the soundness of our observations and inductions. But the very opposite is the fact—Dr Gall states the function as unascertained, Dr Spurzheim mentions it as "only conjectural,"

* In point of fact, it has been shewn in an able Essay in the Phrenological Journal, vol. III., p. 191, that Concentrativeness includes Inhabitiveness, and that there is no inconsistency in the views advanced in regard to this faculty.

and I, as merely "probable;" so that the point we arrive at is, that the faculty is not at all ascertained, just because our observations do not coincide. What are we to think, then, of your fairness as a critical judge, when you select this faculty as *the only one* which you venture to describe, at length, in our own words, and represent it as a specimen of the accordance and consistency of our views upon other faculties, regarding which we are all agreed? Nothing but the spirit of partizanship, the feeling that in this contest you are a party at the bar of public opinion, struggling to maintain a position fast giving way beneath you, could have induced you to resort to such a shift.

You are particularly eloquent also on the supposed discrepancies of doctrine between Dr Gall, Dr Spurzheim, and me, about the functions of Individuality. A brief explanation will serve to place this matter in its proper light. Before a phrenological faculty and organ are regarded as finally settled, there are three points to be determined; *first*, the situation of the organ; *secondly*, the kind of mental manifestations that accompany its development; and, *thirdly*, the metaphysical *analysis* of the manifestations. In several instances, that of Wit,* for example, the first and second points are completely ascertained, while the third, being attended with greater difficulty, is open to considerable difference of opinion. Individuality stands at present in a similar situation. Phrenologists are agreed on the kind of manifestations that accompany the organs when large, and on the mental deficiencies that result from their being small; but they are not at one on the ultimate principle involved in them.

In connexion with Concentrativeness, you become witty

* It is worth noticing in passing, how very little you are acquainted with the contents of the work you are refuting. In a note, p. 313 of the Review, you say, "It farther appears from the same valuable document, (Dr Spurzheim's last work "on Anatomy,) that a *new organ*, entitled *Mirthfulness*, has been discovered "since Mr Combe's book was written—though we cannot exactly ascertain "which of the old ones has been suppressed to make room for it." On p. 364 of the System, in treating of the organ of Wit, Dr Spurzheim's own words are quoted: "I propose the name Mirthfulness, or Gayness, to indicate the pecu-

on the "natural language of the faculties." That doctrine is correctly announced by you, when you say, in derision of course, "The great practical truth is, that when any faculty "is in a state of activity, the head, at least, if not the whole "body, is moved in the direction of the external organ of that "faculty." You ridicule the statement, "that when those per- "sons who really possess the power of Concentration, while "preparing to make a powerful and combined exertion of all "their powers, naturally draw the head and body backwards "in the line of this organ." On the assertion, that "preachers "and advocates in whom it is large, while speaking with ani- "mation, move the head in the line of Concentrativeness and "Individuality, or *straight* backwards and forwards," you re- mark, "this, we should humbly conceive, they must necessarily "do, if they move them *oftener than once* in either of the op- "posed directions." This at first sight appears not only witty, but conclusive; but it is really at variance with fact. If you will observe more narrowly than you appear to have done, you will find that there are preachers and advocates who, al- though they very frequently move their heads backwards and forwards, scarcely ever, by any chance, do so "in the *straight* "*line.*" Those in whom Secretiveness predominates, in bring- ing the head forward, present the face at an angle to the au- dience, and look to the side from the corners of their eyes; they draw back the head in a sidelong direction also; those again, in whom Combativeness predominates, move the head backwards and forwards in the line of that organ; and those in whom Love of Approbation predominates, carry their heads backwards with a swinging motion, also in the line of the organ; Concentrativeness in all these cases being defi- cient. Such statements, I am aware, must appear to you absurd, because you have never taken the pains to observe their truth; but this is accounted for by the quotation from Dr Brown, p. 10.

You ask, "When a man seeks the applause of assembled "multitudes in the senate, on the battle-field, on the stage, "is he irresistibly moved to go to the left about, and ad- "vance the posterior curves of his cranium?" I answer no— it is only Mr Jeffrey, and not the Phrenologists, who have said so. You proceed,—"Has a proud man a natural ten-

" dency to *move* backwards?" I have not said that he has; my statement is, that he has a natural tendency " to carry " *his head high* and *reclining* backwards."* To designate unwarrantable assumption of consequence in any individual, is it not common to say that " that man carries his head too " high?" and do not very proud men, in point of fact, walk erectly, and carry their heads high? You next ask, " Are constant friends and lovers generally to be found drift- " ing down, stern foremost, on the objects of their affections?" Certainly not; but this again is your witticism, and it is really a good one. Look at the pictures of Castor and Pollux, in which the one stands with his arm passed over the shoulder of the other, the two heads touching at a point a little behind and above the ear; or place any two persons, no matter although of the same sex, in both of whom the organs of Adhesiveness are large, in this position, and you will soon discover whether or not this is the natural attitude of attachment. It is unnecessary to proceed farther on this topic. Artists, who make it their study to observe nature, have recognised the correctness of the doctrine about natural language; and the whole ridicule with which it is invested in your pages arises absolutely from your passing off gross absurdities of your own invention for statements of mine.

On the subject of Fear and Hope, you enter into a long dissertation, chiefly a paraphrase of a passage from Hume's Essays, quoted in the " System," and arrive at the conclusion, that " the *truth is*, that the two principles *are substan-* " *tially one and the same, and necessarily imply each other, as much* " *as heat and cold do. The increment of the one is necessarily the* " *decrement of the other.* If, in the contemplation of danger, a " man fears much, he, by necessary consequence, hopes little— " if he hopes much, he fears little. It is no matter which form " of expression is used, since they *both obviously mean the same* " *thing*, and *indicate exactly the same state of mind or feeling.* " They are the two buckets in the well, and it is not less ab- " surd to ascribe them to different principles, than it would be " to maintain that the descent of the one bucket depends on

* System, p. 161.

" causes quite separate from that which occasions the ascent of " the other;—and the superfluity of the Phrenologists in these " instances, is but faintly typified by that of the wiseacre who " made two holes in his barn-door, one to let his cat *in* to kill " the mice, and the other to let her out." The common edition of the story is, that the wiseacre made a large hole for the cat, and a small one for the kitten; but let that pass, as you are not very particular in your quotations. The question is, whether Hope and Fear are one feeling or two?

There is a maxim in philosophy, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, which, in plain English, means, that something never arises out of nothing. Cold then is not a positive substance, but the mere negative of heat; silence is the negative of noise; and rest the negative of motion: accordingly, cold, silence, and rest, not being entities, cannot become agents, or exhibit active qualities; for this would infringe on the above maxim, which in philosophy is absolutely indisputable. If Fear then be the mere negation of Hope, it cannot be a positive feeling; it can produce no effects, and excite to no actions; or if you reverse the case, and say that Hope is the negation of Fear, then it is the mere zero of that emotion; it is nothing in itself, and can produce no consequences. But this is altogether at variance with the real phenomena of life. Fear, when violently excited, is an overwhelming passion; Hope, when high upon the tiptoe, is a prodigiously strong positive emotion; and both give rise to the most extensive consequences in human affairs. Your theory is the same as that which maintains Fear to be the negative of Courage, and Courage the negative of Fear; or that the mere absence of terror was all that constituted the heroic bravery of Nelson; and that a man in the ecstacies of a panic experiencesno positive emotion, but is only negatively brave.

With your permission I shall borrow from you the simile of the two buckets, and endeavour to apply it to better purpose than you do. I place Fear in the one bucket and Hope in the other. In the medium condition of ordinary life they hang in equilibrio; when an object pregnant with

danger presents itself, Fear mounts up, and Hope sinks down; when an agreeable prospect appears, Fear descends, and Hope rises. You should have had only one bucket in your well, and called it Fear when at the bottom, and Hope when at the top. On page 309, you say, "What is Cautiousness, but a quick sense of danger, a most prompt and vigilant circumspection for security?" This is an excellent definition; but does it designate, as appropriately, the simple negation of Hope?

Let us next proceed to your commentary on the phrenological doctrine of the perception of Colour. In the System of Phrenology, p. 273, under the head of "Sight," the question is asked, "What, then, are the true functions of the eye? "No organ of sense *forms ideas*. The eye, therefore, only receives, modifies, and transmits the impressions of light; and "here its functions cease. Internal faculties form conceptions "of the figure, colour, distance, and other attributes of the objects making the impressions, and the power of forming these "conceptions is in proportion to *the perfection of the eyes and "the internal faculties jointly*, and not in proportion to the perfection of the eyes alone. Hence the lower animals, although "they have eyes equal in perfection to those of man, are not "able to form the ideas of the qualities of bodies, which he "forms by means of his internal faculties through the instrumentality of the eye, because in them the internal faculties are "wanting."

Again, in treating of the organ of Colouring, it is said, that "Although the eyes are affected agreeably or disagreeably by the different modifications of the beams of light, "or by colours, yet they do not conceive the relations of different colours, their harmony or discord, and they have no "memory of them. Certain individuals are almost destitute of "the power of perceiving colours, who yet have the sense of "vision acute, and readily perceive other qualities in external "bodies, as their size and form."—*System of Phrenology*, p. 296.

To this you object, that, "So far is it from being true "that we do not perceive colour by the eye, that in reality it "is colour, *and colour alone*, that is the primary object of its "perceptions. What we see indeed is only light; but light is "always coloured (if we include white as a colour), and the "different colours are in reality but *so many* kinds of light."—P. 287. "Colour, in short, is the only quality of light by "which we are ever made aware of its existence; and to say "that we do not see colour by the eye, is in reality to say that "*we do not see at all*; for the strict and ultimate fact is, that we

"never see any thing else."—P. 288. And again you say, "Take the case of sight first. It is true, as we have already "observed, that we see nothing but colour; and accordingly, "if all objects were of the same colour, both as to *shade* and in- "tensity, we certainly should never perceive their forms by the "eye."—P. 289.

There is more ingenuity in these than in many of your other objections; but still they are easily answered. It is not asserted by Phrenologists that the eye *alone* is sufficient to perceive light. The statement is, that "it only *receives*, *modifies*, and *transmits* the impressions of light;" of course, it transmits them to something else, which is stated to be the organ of Colouring. Assuming the position then, that light is colour, it will follow phrenologically, that light cannot be perceived without the joint operation of both the eye and the organ of Colouring; and, accordingly, nothing in opposition to this is stated in the phrenological works. It is expressly mentioned in the "System," p. 36, that "*every* (*sane*) *individual possesses all the organs in a greater or less degree.*" Now, suppose that in two persons the eyes are equally perfect, but that in one the organ of Colouring is very large, and in the other very small, it will follow that the *impressions* of light will be *conveyed* to both equally; but that they will excite in the former a strong and in the latter only a feeble perception of colours. You object, however, that it is impossible that the latter can distinguish *forms* readily by the eye, because his perception of colour being imperfect, and light being mere colour, he must be as deficient in general vision as in discriminating hues. I reply, that mere difference of *shade* is sufficient to enable us to perceive forms by the eye, as is proved by the arts of black-chalk drawing and copperplate printing; and that for the perception of *shades* a much *lower degree* of the combined action of the eye and organ of Colouring will suffice than for acutely discriminating the relations of colours. This may be illustrated by the parallel case of sound. It is pretty generally admitted that mere sound is different

from melody, and yet melody is nothing but sound. It is sound, however, modulated in a particular manner; and the perception of this modulation is a *higher mental act* than the perception of simple noise. Now, suppose the auditory apparatus and the organ of Tune to be *both* requisite for the perception of melody, it will follow phrenologically, that if two individuals possess the former equally, but differ in the degrees in which they enjoy the latter, they may both perceive sounds with acuteness, while the one may in addition have a great perception of melody, and the other very little. To refute this view it will not suffice to assert metaphysically, that melody is mere sound, and that *therefore* it is absurd to say that a man can hear acutely while he is insensible to music. It is a sufficient answer to say, that the one implies a higher degree of perception than the other; that a person may enjoy the lower, and yet be deficient in the higher degree; and that the *fact* in nature actually is so. This, accordingly, is precisely what the Phrenologists teach in regard to colours. They maintain that perception of differences in *shades* arises from a *low degree* of combined action of the eye and organ of Colouring; while discrimination of *colours* requires a *higher degree of* BOTH; just as mere *sound* is perceived by a slender endowment of the auditory apparatus and organ of Tune, while a more ample portion of both is requisite for the perception of *melody*. It is therefore quite intelligible in theory how "certain individuals, *almost* (not *altogether*, as "you seem to assume) destitute of the power of perceiving co-"lours, may yet have the sense of vision acute, and readily "perceive other qualities in external bodies, as their size and "form." This is asserted to be a *fact* in the System of Phrenology, p. 296; and the explanation given is, that in them the organ of Colouring is not wanting, but small. But you do not grapple with the facts there stated, although the names and designations of several living individuals are furnished to you who are in this predicament. You pass all these over in silence; and, as a set-off to them, favour us with a

fact of your own. It, however, is too precious and important to be dismissed without comment. In the System of Phrenology, p. 300, the following passage occurs:—"Mr "Jeffrey, in the article 'Beauty,' already alluded to, informs us, "'That colour is, in all cases, absolutely indifferent to the eye;' "and adds, 'that it is no doubt quite true, that, among painters "'and connoisseurs, we hear a great deal about the harmony "'and composition of tints, and the charms and difficulties of a "'judicious colouring. In all this, however, we cannot help "'thinking that *there is no little pedantry and no little jargon.*' "Speaking of the natural gamut of colours, he continues, 'We "'confess we have no faith in any of these fancies; and be-"'lieve, that if all these colours were fairly arranged, on a "'plain board, according to the most rigid rules of this sup-"'posed harmony, nobody but the author of the theory would "'perceive the smallest beauty in the exhibition, or be the "'least offended by reversing their collocation.' It is a curi-"ous fact, that the organ of Colouring in Mr Jeffrey's head is "actually depressed; and it appears that, in the usual manner "of metaphysical writers, he has conceived his own feelings to "be an infallible standard of those of human nature in general."

On this statement you make the following commentary in the Review:—"It is worth while perhaps to observe, that "in treating of this faculty, Mr Combe is pleased (at page 301) "to notice the case of an individual with whose speculations "on the beauty of colours he does not agree, and whose errors "on the subject he triumphantly accounts for by recording it "as a curious fact, 'that in his head the organ of Colouring "'*is absolutely depressed!*' A more complete case of destitution "of the faculty could not of course be imagined; and, accord-"ingly, the learned author proceeds most reasonably to infer, "that he must be in the condition of those unfortunate persons "'who cannot distinguish dark-brown from scarlet, or buff "'from orange.' Now, without meaning to call in question "the fact of the depression in his skull, we happen *to know* "that the individual here mentioned has a remarkably fine and "exact perception of colours, so as to be able to match them "from memory with a precision which has been the admira-"tion of many ladies and dress-makers. He has also an un-"common sensibility to their beauty; and spends more time "than most people in gazing on bright flowers and peacocks' "necks, and wondering, he hopes innocently, what can be the "cause of his enjoyment. Even the Phrenologists, we think, "must admit, that, *in his case*, it cannot be the predominance "of the appropriate faculty; since they have ascertained that "he is totally destitute of the organ. But this belongs proper-"ly to the chapter of evidence."

This certainly *does* "belong to the chapter of evi-"dence;" and as one of the grand elements of credibility in a witness is consistency, I shall enter your case as an exception to Phrenology whenever you reconcile the palpable discrepancies of these statements. How could you assert in the Encylopædia, that "Colour is in "all cases absolutely *indifferent* to the eye," if you were conscious, when you wrote, of possessing "an *uncommon sensi-*"*bility to their beauty?*" How could you stigmatize as "*pedantry and jargon*" the doctrine of "the harmony and "composition of tints, and the charms and difficulties of a "judicious colouring," and assert, "that if all those colours "were fairly arranged, on a plain board, according to the most "rigid rules of this supposed harmony, nobody but the author "of the theory would perceive *the smallest beauty* in the exhibi-"tion, or be the least offended by reversing their collocation," "when all the time you enjoyed in yourself "a remarkably fine "and exact perception of colours, so as to be able to *match them* "from memory with a precision which has been the admira-"tion of many ladies and dress-makers!!!" Why, you must either have acquired a new talent since you wrote the article Beauty, now some ten years ago, and in that case the *organ* may have increased; or must we adopt, as the only other alternative, the conclusion which you have drawn in regard to me, in the following terms?—"We really have "great difficulty in believing the author to be in good faith "with us, and suspect that few reflecting readers will be able "to get through 'these statements' without many starts of im-"patient surprise, and a general uneasy surmise that they are "a mere exercise of intellectual ingenuity, or an elaborate ex-"periment on public credulity."—*Review, p.* 253.

The limits necessarily prescribed to this Letter render it impossible for me to follow you through your long and confused objections to the organs of "Size, Order, and "Weight," and to analyze and expose all the inconsistencies into which you have fallen. In the spirit of partizanship, already commented on, you omit, or very briefly notice, the faculties stated by Phrenologists as ascertained, and fix upon those which they themselves distinctly mention as

still subjects of inquiry, and represent them as fair examples of their general science. This is particularly the case with Size and Weight; the first of which is stated in the work you review to be only "*probable*," and the second as "conjectural." You omit, too, all mention of the facts by which the opinions advanced are supported; and, in short, leave no means untried to mislead your readers as to the real merits of the System. In treating of Weight, you have done great injustice to the views of Mr Simpson on that subject. His essay is printed at full length in the Phrenological Journal, vol. II. p. 412, and is pretty fully quoted in my work; and, with all deference to your sagacity, it is impossible to read that production, and to attend impartially to the facts by which the principles of it are supported, without being satisfied of the high probability of both faculty and organ. Phrenologists recognize the views of that paper as a valuable contribution to their science; and it will be impossible for reflecting men, who are not absolutely blinded by prejudice, to peruse it without perceiving that it is a chapter of some importance added to the philosophy of mind.

Passing over, therefore, ten pages of loose wrangling in the Review, let us approach your observations on the effects of Size in the organs, on the manifestations of the mind. You say, "Their proposition is, that their thirty-six bumps are "the organs of so many separate faculties, and that the "strength of the endowment is in exact proportion to the size "of the bump. Now, independent of all flaws in the theory, "we think it can be *proved*, by facts that admit of no denial, "that this proposition *neither is* nor *can* by possibility *be true*.

"In the *first* place," you continue, "let us say a word about "*Size*. That the mere bulk or *quantity* of matter, in such wonderful and delicate structures, should be the exclusive measure of their value, without any regard to their *quality* or condition, certainly must appear on the first statement to be a very "improbable allegation." This is a complete misrepresentation of the phrenological doctrine, which is, that, *cæteris paribus*, Size is a measure of power. You studiously omit the qualification of *other things being equal*, although this is constantly kept

in view by Phrenologists:—You proceed, "We cannot "help suspecting that it was nothing but the plain impossi- "bility of ascertaining any thing as to their structure and "quality that drove our dogmatic theorists upon that bold pro- "position. Their assumed organs, however, are all buried "deep under skin and bone of an uniform appearance; and "having nothing, therefore, but Size left to go upon (at least "in the living subject), they seem to have even made up their "minds to say that that was quite enough, and that nothing "else was to be regarded. In the next place, however, *the pro- "position is no less contrary to the analogy of all our known or- "gans than to general probability.* The grand mamma Wolf, in "the fairy tale, does indeed lean a little to the phrenological "heresy, when she tells little Riding-hood that she has large "eyes to see her the better. But with this one venerable ex- "ception, *we rather think it has never been held before that the "strength of vision depended on the size of the eye, the perfection "of hearing on the magnitude of the ear, or the nicety of taste on "the breadth of the tongue or palate.*"

On page 258 of the Review, you say, "We see with our "eyes, hear with our ears, and touch with our hands, or the surface of "the whole body. These are facts, we think, which may be as- "sumed without argument or explanation. Anatomy and experi- "ment show farther, that the *sensibility* of these organs depends "on *the nerves* which belong to them, on the optic and auditory "nerves, for example, as to seeing and hearing, or on the nerves "of touch for many other sensations." Your real proposition, then, must be, that, with the venerable exception of grand mamma Wolf, it has never been held before that the strength of vision depends on the size of the optic nerves, the perfection of hearing on the magnitude of the auditory nerves, or the nicety of taste on the size of the gustatory nerves.

In an early part of this Letter I observed, that your objections have, in general, been anticipated by other opponents of Phrenology, and refuted before you brought them forward. The following extract from a letter written by Dr A. Combe, and published in the Edinburgh and Leith Advertiser of 18th March, 1826, will serve at once to establish this, and to answer your doctrine about the organs of sense:—"It is a fact," says he, "admitted by the highest "physiological authorities, and by the greatest authority of all— "Nature, that the functions of the five senses *are* executed with a "degree of acuteness and intensity exactly proportioned, *cæteris "paribus*, to the development of their respective organs. Monro,

"Blumenbach, Sœmmering, Cuvier, Magendie, Georget, and a whole "host of authors, might be quoted in proof, but one is enough; "and, having Blumenbach at hand, I turn to the section on Smell, "and find as follows:—'*While animals of the most acute smell* "'*have the nasal organs most extensively evolved*,' precisely the "same holds in regard to some barbarous nations. For instance, "'in the head of a North-American Indian,' (represented in one "'of his plates), '*the internal nares are of an extraordinary* "'*size*,' &c. And again, 'The nearest to this, in point of mag-"'nitude, are the internal nares of the Ethiopians, from among "'whom I have seen heads very different from each other, *but* "'*each possessing a nasal organ much larger than that describ-*"'*ed by Sœmmering*.'—'*These anatomical observations ac-*"'*cord with the accounts given by the most respectable travel-*"'*lers concerning the wonderful acuteness of smell possessed by* "'*these savages*.'

"In like manner, Dr Monro, *primus*, no mean authority to put "against a nameless pamphleteer, in treating, in his Comparative "Anatomy, of the large organ of smell in the dog, says, 'the sensi-"'bility (of smell) *seems to be increased in proportion to the sur-*"'*face*; AND THIS WILL ALSO BE FOUND TO TAKE PLACE IN ALL "'THE OTHER SENSES.' A late French physiological writer is "equally explicit. In treating of the nerves, M. Georget says, "'The *volume of these organs* bears a uniform relation, in all the "'different animals, to the *extent* and *force* of the sensations and "'movements over which they preside. Thus, the nerve of smell "'in the dog is *larger than the five nerves of the external senses* "'*in man*.'"

A large *eye* too takes in more light, and a large ear more impulses of air than small ones; so that the venerable "Grand Mamma Wolf" really turns out to be a sounder physiological authority than the "Oracle" of the Edinburgh Review!

The principle, that size in the organ, *cæteris paribus*, determines the power of manifestation is admitted by physiologists to apply equally to the brain. Magendie says, "*The* "*volume of the brain is generally in direct proportion to the capa-*"*city of the mind*. We ought not to suppose, however, that "every man having a large *head* is necessarily a person of superior "intelligence, for there are many causes of an augmentation of the "volume of the *head* beside the *size of the brain*, but it is rarely "found, that a man distinguished by his mental faculties has not a "large head. The only way of estimating the volume of the brain, "in a living person, is to measure the dimensions of the skull; "every other means, even that proposed by *Camper*, is uncertain." —*Compendium of Physiology, p.* 104, *edition* 1826.

"All the world knows," you continue, "and the Phrenologists "themselves admit, that the vigour of any faculty may be improv-

"ed by exercise and education; and the strength of any propensity "by habitual indulgence, though these changes are not accompanied "by any increase in the size of the organ. But is not this admit- "ted and most familiar fact in absolute and glaring contradiction to "the fundamental assumption of the System?"—P. 302.

This objection is already answered in the following passage of the "System," of which, of course, you take no notice:—

"Suppose that two individuals possess an organization exactly simi- "lar, but that one is highly educated, and the other left entirely to the "impulses of nature, the former will manifest his faculties with "higher *power* than the latter; and hence it is argued, that size is "not in all cases a measure of energy.

"Here, however, the requisite of *cæteris paribus* does not hold. "An important condition is altered, and the Phrenologist uniformly "allows for the effects of education, before drawing positive conclu- "sions.* It may be supposed, that, if exercise thus increases "power, it is impossible to draw the line of distinction between "energy derived from this cause and that which proceeds from size "in the organs, and hence that the real effects of size can never be "determined. The answer to this objection is, that education may "cause the faculties to manifest themselves with the highest degree "of energy *which the size of the organs will permit,* but that size "fixes a limit which education cannot surpass. DENNIS, we may "presume, received some improvement from education; but it did "not render him equal to POPE, much less to SHAKSPEARE or "MILTON: therefore, if we take two individuals whose brains are "equally healthy, but whose organs differ in size, and educate them "alike, the advantages in power and attainment will be greatest in "the direct ratio of the size in favour of the largest brain. Thus, "the objection ends in this,—that, if we compare brains in oppo- "site conditions, we may be led into error—which is granted; but "this is not in opposition to the doctrine, that, *cæteris paribus,* "size determines power. Finally, extreme deficiency in size pro- "duces incapacity for education, as in idiots; while extreme deve- "lopment, if healthy, as in SHAKSPEARE, BURNS, MOZART, anti- "cipates its effects, in so far that the individuals educate them- "selves.

"In saying, then, that, *cæteris paribus,* size is a measure of "power, Phrenologists demand no concessions which are not made "to physiologists in general; among whom, in this instance, they "rank themselves."

The next objection is, that "A diseased state of the "organ *always makes its operations* more vigorous and energetic; "and *no instance is* mentioned in which the occasional obscuration "of any faculty is referred to such a cause."—P. 305. This asser- tion is at utter variance with fact. On pages 333—4 of

* Phrenological Transactions, p. 308.

the System, a variety of cases are mentioned in which disease of the organ was accompanied by obscuration of the faculty.

"The imaginary disease," you continue, "has often no other "local indication but this increase of mental vigour, and is indeed, in "most cases, plainly imagined or assumed merely to account for "that phenomenon. It proves, at all events, that faculties may "have a vigour quite incommensurate with the size of their organs "—which is *precisely the reverse* of what Phrenology teaches. "It proves that the state or quality of the organ, or of something "else, quite independent of its size, may determine the state of the "faculty, and that size, therefore, is no criterion whatever. If we "find a man with a very small organ, and a very vigorous manifes- "tation of its supposed faculty, it is, to be sure, very easy to say, "that this is owing, not to the size, but the condition of the organ; "but it is saying what fundamentally contradicts the whole phreno- "logical doctrine; and though it introduces another, pretty nearly "as absurd, it completely puts an end to the former."

The answer to this objection also is explicitly given in the System; but you pass it over. It is as follows:

"It is proper next to advert to certain conditions which may co- "exist in the brain with size, and to attend to their effects. Power "in the manifestations, and size in the organ, are, in the general "case, proportionate; and when differences in size are considerable, "no circumstance, consistent with health, will render the manifes- "tations equal in power; one brain, however, may be more per- "fect in constitution than another, and, in consequence, may act "more vigorously, although not larger in dimensions; but these "differences are slight and their effects limited. Size then is not "the *only* requisite to the manifestation of great mental power; the "brain must possess also a healthy constitution, and that degree of "activity which is the usual accompaniment of health. Now, the "brain, like other parts of the body, may be affected with certain "diseases which do not diminish or increase its magnitude, and yet "impair its functions; and, in such cases, great size may be pre- "sent, and very imperfect manifestations appear; or it may be at- "tacked with other diseases, such as inflammation, or any of those "particular affections whose nature is unknown, but to which the "name of Mania is given in Nosology, and which greatly exalt its "action; and then very forcible manifestations may proceed from "a brain comparatively small; but it is no less true, that when a "larger brain is excited to the same degree by the same causes, the "manifestations become increased in energy in proportion to the "increase of size. These cases, therefore, form no valid objection "to Phrenology. The Phrenologist ascertains, by previous inquiry, "that the brain is in a state of health. If it is not, he makes the "neces ary limitations in drawing his conclusions."*—P. 46.

* This subject is discussed at greater length in the Phrenological Journal, No II. p. 300.

You add to your last objection the following recondite commentary:—"In some cases our author represents the faculty "as inordinately excited by disease, in persons who have the organ "of very small dimensions; in others he is guilty of the *double* ab- "surdity of leaving it to disease to produce any manifestation of "the faculty, although the organ has all along been unusually "large, as in the following admirable illustration of Destructive- "ness:—'When *excited by intoxication, the organ* sometimes be- "comes ungovernable; and hence arises the destruction of glasses, "mirrors, chairs, and every frangible object, at the close of many "a feast. Hence also the temptation, often almost irresistible, ex- "perienced by many a worthy citizen, when inebriated, to smash "a lamp on his progress home. One gentleman assured me, that "the lamps have appeared to him, when in this state, as it were "twinkling on his path with a wicked and scornful gleam, and "that he has frequently lifted his stick to punish their imperti- "nence, when a remnant of reason restrained the meditated blow. "'In him, *Destructiveness is decidedly large*; but, *when sober*, "'there is not a more excellent person.'—P. 109.

"Now," you say, "here we have, first of all, a man with a de- "cidedly large organ, *who yet, in his sound and natural state, "gives no manifestation whatever of the connected propensity*, in "itself a complete falsification of the theory; but then, when dis- "ordered with drink, this naturally quiet person becomes mischiev- "ous; that is to say, he comes into the state to which drink and "disorder might bring a man with a decidedly *small* organ."—P. 306.

This objection also is already answered in the System. It is there said, that "In no instance is it a matter of indiffer- "ence to the talents and dispositions of the individual, whether any "particular organ be large or small. If it be large, although its "*abuses* may be prevented by restraint and direction imposed by "the other faculties, still its presence will operate on the mind. If, "for instance, large Combativeness and Destructiveness are combin- "ed with a large development of the moral and intellectual organs, "the whole life may be passed without the occurrence of any out- "rage; and it may be asked, what effect, in this case, do the former "organs produce? We shall find the answer, by supposing all the "other organs to remain large, while those are diminished in size, "and tracing the effects of this change;—the result would be an "undue preponderance of moral and intellectual qualities degene- "rating into effeminacy. Large Combativeness and Destructiveness "would add the elements of repulsion and aggression to such an ex- "tent, as to permit the manifestation of manly enterprise and cour- "age. *Hence, in the case supposed, these organs would be duly "performing their functions when the superficial observer would "imagine them to be entirely superfluous.*"—P. 450. On these principles it did not require intoxication to produce the first

manifestation of Destructiveness in the individual alluded to; and it is not true, in fact, that "drink and disorder" would bring a man with a *small* organ of Destructiveness into the state of breaking lamps.

On p. 307 you say, "A *third* and separate refutation" (alas, that *so many* refutations should be necessary!) "is suggested by "another concession, or necessary distinction, of its supporters. "There is a difference, they have been obliged to admit, be- "tween the *Activity* and the *Power* of their faculties and pro- "pensities; and size is a measure of power only, activity not "manifesting itself by any peculiarity of outward configuration." In the System, it is said, that "*activity* means the *rapidity* with "which the faculties may be manifested. *The largest organs "in each head have the greatest and the smallest the least tend- "ency to natural activity.*"—P. 49. You omit this statement entirely, and proceed with the question, "Is there in reality "any distinction between what is here called *power* and what is "called *activity*, as applied to the 36 phrenological faculties?" You dedicate two pages to the task of proving, "that we can "have no other idea of the power of any faculty, than one "which answers exactly to Mr Combe's definition of its activity."

You, no doubt, quote the definition of activity; but you omit the most important and practical illustrations of the difference between it and power, which, if you had inserted, would have served as a sufficient refutation of all your objections on this head. In the System it is stated, that "The doctrine, that "*power* is a characteristic of the mind, distinguishable at once "from mere intellectual acumen, and also from activity, is one of "great practical importance; and it explains a variety of pheno- "mena of which we previously possessed no theory. In society "we meet with persons whose whole manner is little, whom we "instinctively feel to be unfit for any great enterprise or arduous "duty, and who are, nevertheless, distinguished for amiable feel- "ing and good sense. This springs from a small brain, but favour- "ably proportioned in its parts. Other individuals again, with "far less polish, inferior information, and fewer amiable quali- "ties, impress us with a sentiment of their power, force, energy, "or greatness; we instinctively feel that they have weight, and "that, if acting against us, they would prove formidable oppo- "nents. This arises from great size. BUONAPARTE, who had "an admirable tact in judging of human nature, distinguishes "between mere cleverness and force of character, and almost "always prefers the latter. In his Memoirs, he speaks of some "of his generals as possessing talents, intellect, book-learning, "but as still being nobody, as wanting that weight and compre- "hensiveness which fit a man for great enterprises; while he

"adverts to others as possessing limited intellect and little judg-
"ment, but prodigious force of character; and characterizes
"them as admirably adapted by this qualification to lead soldiers
"through peril and difficulty, provided they be put on the right
"path by minds superior to their own. MURAT was such a
"man; and BUONAPARTE appears, on the whole, to have liked
"such officers, for they did not trouble him with thinking for
"themselves, while they possessed energy adequate to the exe-
"cution of his most gigantic designs."—*System of Phrenology*, p. 435.

"*Activity* in the organs, on the other hand, gives liveliness,
"quickness, and rapidity; and is a more frequent concomitant
"of a moderate-sized brain than of a large one. Dr SPURZ-
"HEIM thinks that long fibres contribute to activity. Mode-
"rate size of the brain, with favourable combination, and much
"activity, will constitute what is commonly understood by a
"*clever* man in ordinary life; such an individual will form ideas
"rapidly, do a great deal of work, show tact and discrimination,
"and prove himself really a valuable and useful member of so-
"ciety; but then he must not be overloaded with difficulties,
"or encumbered with obstacles, nor must the field in which he
"is called on to labour be too extensive."—*Id.* p. 439.

"When *power* and *activity unite* in an individual, they consti-
"tute the perfection of genius. This I conceive to have been
"the case in HOMER and in SHAKESPEARE. Vivacious buoy-
"ancy, ease, and fertility, arising from activity, joined with
"depth, strength, comprehensiveness, and masculine energy of
"mind, the result of great size, place these authors above all
"others whom the world has ever seen."—*Id.* p. 440.

It is almost superfluous to add to these illustrations; but as you cite instances of particular faculties, and ask what is the distinction between power and activity in them, it may be proper briefly to answer some of your inquiries. Your words are, "When we say, for example, that a man has Destruc-
"tiveness uncommonly powerful, what do we mean but that he
"is unusually *ready* to injure and destroy? All men have some-
"thing, it seems, of this amiable propensity; and the only dif-
"ference is, that those who have it least are the *slowest* to give
"way to it, and those who have it most, the *quickest*. The
"whole difference, therefore, is in what is here called *its activity*."
Is it true, then, that this is the only difference? When we see represented on the stage the character of an ill-natured old woman, whose whole existence is little else than a series of manifestations of Destructiveness, can any thing be more *quick*, and, at the same time, more ludicrously *feeble*, than the flashes of ill-nature which are then exhibited? It

is, indeed, the contrast between these qualities that forms the charm of the representation. Take, again, the example of a Meg Merrilees, uttering the most dreadful imprecations of a tremendous Destructiveness, do we not feel in this character an overwhelming *power* of passion altogether different from the activity of the other? We laugh at the one and tremble before the other; and this difference of feeling in the spectator does not arise, as you maintain, "merely from dif- "ference in the muscles of the hand or arm" of the actors, for there is no question of physical violence in either case,—but solely from difference in their mental energies. So completely is this the truth, and so distinct are the qualities of power and activity, that I would peril the decision of this point, on the fact, that the ablest representatives of the former set of characters on all the stages of Europe have smaller brains than the ablest representatives of the second class; and that they cannot with success interchange; the small brain cannot rise to the deep pathos of the large one, and the large brain cannot divest itself of its accompanying mental intensity, the very absence of which constitutes the peculiar aptitude of the small brain for the parts which it represents.

You ask, what constitutes a great endowment of Wit, Language, Imitation, Locality, and Individuality, but a "rapid," "copious," and "easy" manifestation of these powers? Did you ever meet with "a chattering creature" in society? If you have had this misfortune, you must have found, by painful experience, that nothing could exceed the "rapidity," "copiousness," and "ease" of his discourse; but that nothing could fall farther short of the energy and intensity of a Shakspeare. As you enjoy the "admiration "of many ladies and dress-makers," you, of course, have been no stranger at musical entertainments: did you ever observe, then, that some ladies send forth from the pianoforte volumes of sound so rich in melody and intensely deep in power, that they melt the very soul of the listener; while there are other performers perfect in execution, correct in time, and strict observers of every rule of art, whose music is still

meagre and destitute of every quality fitted to excite and cherish emotion; a large organ of Tune and large brain are essential to the first, and these will be found smaller in the latter.

You amuse yourself and your readers with picturing "a "mighty colourist bringing his tardy energies to act in a "flower-garden, and labouring towards tremendous mani- "festations of his faculty," &c. If you would know where such manifestations are in reality to be found, I would refer you to the works of that *mighty colourist Titian*, whose Venuses and Danaes are made by the power of colour to start from the canvass with all the energy of life,—to the gorgeous displays of colouring in the paintings of Rubens, who, with all the palpable defects of his taste in regard to form, his squab Cupids and Dutch-built Faiths and Charities, strikes the critic dumb with admiration by the force of colour alone. Above all, to the marvellous effects produced by mere colour in the chiaro-scuro of Rembrandt, where, by throwing an excess of brilliancy on one part of the picture, while the other is immersed in the deepest shade, he gives the appearance as of the sparkling of gems, or the radiation of light itself. I would refer you, lastly, to the mild rich glow in the colouring of Claude, where trees, temples, and waters, sleeping under the rays of his setting suns, are only exceeded in beauty by the pencil of that great and inimitable colourist—Nature. Allow me farther to observe, that, whether you are able to feel it or no, there is a *power* of conception and imagination in respect to *colour*, in the instances here mentioned, altogether beyond the reach of the most active little sorter of ribbands, male or female, that ever bustled behind or on the outside of a counter. A boarding-school Miss, when choosing the threads for her sampler, or papers for a fillagree tea-caddy, may have as *quick* a perception of the difference of shades, and exercise her organ of colour as actively as Titian or Rubens could for the soul of them; but what a difference in the effect produced, *i. e.* in the *power* of manifestation!

"There is," you say, "a *fourth* refutation, and that totally in-

" dependent of admissions, to be derived from the changes that " are so familiarly observed to take place in the characters and " propensities of men in the course of their lives, while the ele- " vations on their skulls remain as they were from the begin- " ning."—P. 311. " Is there any thing so common, for instance, " as to see a young spendthrift turned into an old miser? A man " who was scandalously prodigal from 20 to 40, becoming ex- " travagantly avaricious from 50 to 80?"—" Are there not " many amorous youths who degenerate into absolute woman- " haters in their middle age?"—P. 312. I have occasionally heard of such cases, but never having seen any, I can neither admit, nor deny, nor explain them from practical observation; but, *2dly*, they are in direct opposition to your own statement on p. 302,—" That all the world knows, and the " Phrenologists themselves admit, that the vigour of any faculty " may be improved by exercise and education, and *the strength* " *of any propensity by habitual indulgence.*"—No doubt certain *modifications* of character do sometimes take place in the course of the lives of individuals; but these are totally distinct from those here cited from your pages. In the System of Phrenology, under the title of " Combinations in Activi- " ty," p. 454, the case is supposed of " two individuals, in " each of whom *all the organs* are developed in *an average* " *degree*;" and it is explained, that if the one be educated in moral and intellectual pursuits, this training will occasion the predominance of the higher faculties in activity in him; while, if the other be exposed to the temptations of vice, aided by ignorance, the lower faculties will in him become most active. It is added, " the principle now under discus- " sion is not inconsistent with the influence of size; because it " is only in individuals in whom the *organs are nearly on an* " *equality in point of size, that so great effects can be produced* by " combinations in activity. In such cases, the Phrenologist, in " estimating the effects of size, always inquires into the educa- " tion bestowed."—" If an individual is very deficient in the " higher organs, he will remain vulgar in consequence of this " defect, although born and educated in the best society, and in " spite of every effort to communicate refinement by training; " while, on the other hand, if a very favourable development " of the organs of the higher sentiments and intellect is possess- " ed, the individual, in whatever rank he moves, will have the " stamp of nature's nobility."—P. 455.

If we suppose the case of a young man in whom all the

organs exist in nearly equal relative proportions, and who in his youth was exposed to the solicitations of profligate associates, but in his maturer years has had the good fortune to change his external circumstances, and come within the habitual influence of religious, moral, and intellectual society, it is quite obvious, that, without the least dereliction of phrenological principle, he may, in the latter condition, exhibit a great improvement of character; but this is totally different from a prodigal becoming a miser, or an amorous youth a woman-hater. And, besides, the phrenological statement must never be overlooked, that it is only where the organs are pretty much in equilibrio that such modifications, as are here admitted, actually occur; because this accords precisely with the fact in nature, that it is only *some profligates* who are reclaimable, while others set at defiance all the efforts of piety and philanthropy to accomplish their reformation. If there is not *some natural* obstacle to a change of character, why do we not *all* change for the better? Why do you, for example, not assume the profundity of Bacon, the elevation of Milton, and the fertility of Shakspeare? Why has any parent a wayward child, whose pride, selfishness, or cunning, he cannot subdue? Phrenology answers, because, in the one case, we cannot confer on ourselves such large organs of intellect as those illustrious men possessed; and, in the other, cannot eradicate from the brains of children large organs of Self-esteem and Secretiveness. The changes of character that Phrenology recognises are similar to those which the lion undergoes in a cage; the stimulus of hunger is sedulously averted, while bars and bolts are added to restrain his ferocity, and a degree of tameness is thus produced; but he is still *in nature* a lion. In like manner, by withdrawing excitement to the propensities, and adding the restraints of moral and intellectual influence, a man, who, in different circumstances, was vicious, may be rendered to some extent moral; but his nature is not changed. If we restore the temptations, and withdraw the restraints, he will return, like

a sow that is washed, to wallowing in the mire. This subject is ably discussed in an essay by Mr Lyon, published in the Christian Instructor for December, 1823, and in another paper in the Phrenological Journal, vol. I. p. 555.

Having now answered at considerable length those of your objections which go to the principles of Phrenology, I shall very briefly advert to such of them as relate more immediately to details.

You say, "the last and most effectual, or at least most tangible refutation is deduced from the actual want of any thing like "distinct organs in the brain," (p. 311,) and again, "In the only organs of which we know any thing there is no such wondrous uniformity. The eye is a machine of a very different structure from the ear—the olfactory apparatus radically distinct from the gustatory; it would be strange, therefore, if we venerated the Deity, and were impelled to break lamps, by the state of two cones of the same substance lying under one bone! But there are no such cones, nor any traces of the 36 organs, except the elevations at the surface."—P. 313. Note.

Here, however, in this "your last, most effectual, and most tangible refutation," you are equally wrong as in your FOUR preceding refutations. Allow me to call to your recollection what you have stated on page 258, viz. that "Anatomy and experiment show farther, that sensibility of these organs" (of sight, hearing, and touch,) "depends on the *nerves* which belong to them—on the optic and auditory nerves, for example, as to seeing and hearing, or on the nerves of touch for many other sensations;" and again, in the same page, that "the *nerves* belonging to each of these senses seem to form its only material organ," and that "it is upon *their* peculiar structure or action that our sensations depend." Be it observed too, that the emphatic italics in these sentences are your own, and show your anxiety to have the fact mentioned well understood. Now if the "wondrous uniformity" of which you complain in the cerebral organs has really nothing analogous in any of our other organs, in all of which you think there is a distinctness of structure at once indicative of a distinctness of function, I would ask you, simply, to explain, how it has happened that for so many hundred years anatomists and physiologists should have been at variance in regard to the three nerves of

the tongue, and how they could not decide among themselves which was really the nerve of *taste*, which of *motion*, and which of *touch*? taste, motion, and touch being surely, *at least*, as distinct in their nature as the phrenological faculties of Veneration and Destructiveness, which you are surprised at finding acting through the medium of organs formed of the *same substance*.—When you tell us that the five senses depend for their sensibility on *nerves*, which are their "*only* material organs," did you, "not being learned in anatomy," imagine that each of these nerves was formed of such a different and dissimilar substance, that, by *looking* at them, you could point out the particular sense for which each was destined? If you did so, you are either in a mistake as to what is possible, or more gifted than ordinary observers. *Sensation* and *motion* again are nearly as dissimilar in their nature as any two of the phrenological faculties, and yet so far are these from being connected with organs more dissimilar in substance or appearance than those of the brain, that you yourself, in a note to the page already quoted, inform your readers that *only now* Mr Charles Bell, aided by Magendie and Flourens, has made it *highly probable* that "*the* "*nerves which minister to sensation are different from those* "*which produce voluntary motion*;" and if you had been skilled in anatomy you would have been able to give precisely the same good reason for this being not only a very modern, but as yet not an universally-received discovery, as may be given for the lateness of the discovery of the true functions of the brain. You complain that the cones in the brain, though executing different functions, are not divided by visible partitions, or made of different kinds of substance. When you stated this as an objection, did you know that the nerves of sensation and motion are composed of similar substances not separated by any visible partitions, but running undistinguishably blended in one common sheath?

It may be mentioned also, that Dr Barclay started objections,

precisely similar several years ago, in his work on Life and Organization, and that they are answered by Dr A. Combe in the Transactions of the Phrenological Society, p. 397.

You say that you have been assured by persons learned in anatomy, that all that is true in Drs Gall and Spurzheim's account of the brain "had been previously established by Reil and others;" and, in a note at the end of your review, you tell us that Dr Gordon, in "a masterly work," and an "admirable production, has clearly demonstrated, 1st, that the phre-"nological doctors have *no sort of claim to originality*, as to the far "greater part of the anatomical facts they have held out as their "discoveries; and, 2d, that all that is *really original* in their ana-"tomy is *quite unsound and erroneous*, and founded either on most "idle conjectures, or on a mere trick in the manner of operation, "scarcely reconcileable with the dignity of scientific investigation." As you seem never to have thought it necessary to read Dr Spurzheim's answer to that "admirable production," the opinions of which you thus implicitly adopt, you will no doubt be surprised to learn that Drs Gall and Spurzheim have been infinitely more particular than Dr Gordon himself, in tracing the history of the anatomy of the brain, and *in giving to each discoverer the merit really due to him;* and that they themselves had quoted the very authors, and in several instances the very passages of those authors, which Dr Gordon long afterwards adduced to show their bad faith. When you repeat an assertion that first appeared in your own Review, No 49, and which has been refuted again and again, that "all that is true in their" (Drs G. and S.'s) "account of the brain "had been previously established by Reil and others," it is obvious that you have not considered it necessary to read Dr Spurzheim's answer to Dr Gordon. It is there stated at p. 51, that at Halle, in the year 1805, "Professors Reil and "Loder, and numerous gentlemen of the profession, honoured us "with their presence at the public lectures and demonstrations. With "Loder we repeated several times the anatomical demonstrations, "and once we dissected with Reil a brain *quietly* in his own room. "He was so much pleased with our demonstrations, that he gave to "Dr Gall some drawings with which he was formerly occupied, *de "structura nervorum et cerebelli.*" "Thus," continues Dr S., "I

" beg to observe, that in the summer of 1805, we demonstrated to " Reil the same leading points in the anatomy of the brain which " we still maintain;" and it was after this (in 1809) that Reil published views essentially the same as those demonstrated by Gall and Spurzheim. Farther, in the Phrenological Journal, vol. I. p. 73, you will find evidence that *Reil himself* did not hesitate to declare, " that he had obtained more informa- " tion from the dissection of the brain performed by Gall, than he " had believed it possible for a man to discover in his whole life- " time." In this testimony to the anatomical merits of the " phre- " nological doctors" Loder heartily concurs. If all that is really original in their anatomy is, as you assert, unsound, erroneous, and founded only on idle conjecture and mere trick, is it not somewhat astonishing that Reil, to whom you gratuitously ascribe the merits of the discoveries, should himself speak of them in such terms? and further, that so competent a judge as Cuvier should, in giving a summary of the anatomy of the brain in 1822, use the following words:—" On " sait aujour d'hui et surtout par *les dernières recherches de M. M.* " *Gall et Spurzheim, que la movelle épinière, &c.,*" and goes on to describe the structure of the brain *precisely as explained by the phrenological doctors*, to whom alone Cuvier here refers. (Vide Revue Encyclopedique, November, 1822, p. 237.) If what you allege is really correct, is it not equally surprising that M. J. Cloquet, a distinguished anatomist of Paris, in a much-admired, very expensive, and splendid folio work, in 40 Nos. with lithographic plates, entitled " Anatomie de l'Homme," now in the course of publication, *has copied every one of the plates of the human brain contained in Drs Gall and Spurzheim's great work?* He has done this with very slight acknowledgments of gratitude to their authors indeed; but the simple fact of his esteeming them as the most accurate, and engraving them in such a work, shows the degree of credit to which your Review, and " the admirable production" of your authority, Dr Gordon, are entitled, when you " venture to affirm" (in No 49 of the Review, p. 265,) " that there is not one of these figures which accords with nature;"

that the representations in plates VI. and XI. "are particularly "inaccurate;" that others "do not in the least degree approach to "accuracy;" and on p. 267, that in several plates "the omissions "are great, and in a considerable number the errors extravagant."

Is it not surprising, that in a place like Paris, where, from the abundance of subjects, every one can so easily verify the anatomical statements of Gall and Spurzheim, their descriptions should now be those adopted by the established professors and teachers of the science? I have already cited Cuvier and Cloquet, and I may safely add, that the late lamented Beclard, professor of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine, whose genius is incontestable, and whose reputation is already European, although he was cut off in his prime, describes the structure in terms scarcely different from those of the phrenological doctors themselves.* Besides, in London, in 1826, Dr Spurzheim was entreated by the medical students to teach them the anatomy of the brain, and they raised a subscription to recompense him for doing so. These statements may seem tedious and unnecessary, but truth required them to be brought forward to dissipate the deception which you, unintentionally and in ignorance, endeavour to practise on those who pin their faith to your dicta, on the erroneous supposition that you are acquainted with the subject on which you are writing. Can you peruse the testimonies now adduced, and still "venture to affirm" that your own conduct is, in this instance, "reconcileable with the dignity of scien- "tific investigation?"

On p. 317, you quote the case of a Welshman in St Thomas's Hospital, "who had received a considerable injury of "the head, but from which he ultimately recovered, and "who, *when he became convalescent*, spoke a language which "no one about him could comprehend." It turned out that he had recovered the use of the Welsh language which he had learned in his youth, but, owing to long disuse, had

* Beclard's Additions to Bichat, p. 36.

subsequently forgotten. After citing the case, you proceed: "The phenomenon is explained by supposing that *a part* of the "organ of Language was injured, and that the effects of this "injury were, 1*st*, to *destroy* for the time, that part of the ma- "chinery which served for the recollection of *English* words, "and, 2*d*, to *restore* to a serviceable state, that part which had "been originally used for recollecting *Welsh* ones, but had long "been so much rusted and decayed as to be quite unfit for ser- "vice. *These are not metaphors employed to assist our concep- "tion of an obscure fact, or to give a sort of coherence to a strange "statement, they* ARE ALLEGED BY THE PHRENOLOGISTS *as se- "rious and literal truths, affording a plain and satisfactory ex- "planation of a very extraordinary occurrence.*" Now, would any mortal believe that every word of these explanations and statements is a pure fiction of your own, gratuitously put into the mouths of the Phrenologists, apparently for no purpose but to afford scope for ridicule. Not only are there no such assertions or expositions in my work, but there is nothing approaching to them. After quoting from *an opponent of Phrenology* the case of the Welshman, the only remark made upon it by me is, "Such a fact as this is to- "tally inexplicable on any principle, except that of the existence of "organs by which the faculties are manifested; for it could not be "the mind itself that was affected, and its faculties impaired by the "fever or which recovered long-lost knowledge by the influence of "this disease."—*System of Phrenology*, p. 315.

On page 318 of the Review, it is said, "We have left room "enough, we dare say, for *cavil* and *misrepresentation* on the "part of those who think those the best weapons of controver- "sy; it is not, however, to them that we address ourselves, "and we care nothing at all for their hostility." There are no limits certainly to the abuse of words; but if your Review is deliberately meant to be exhibited by you as a specimen of what *you* mean by *candour* and *scrupulosity*, no doubt this answer to it *may* be viewed as replete with "*cavil* and *mis- "representation*."

You attempt another refutation of Phrenology, by affirming, that a man may not only be *well banged* on all his organs, but that he may be deprived of the greater number of them altogether, without injury to any mental faculty. Instead

of wasting time in answering at length, a proposition worthy indeed of the author of the discovery, that insects perform all their functions as well without, as with heads, I shall merely state, that the principle of a plurality of organs, as applied to the explanation of the phenomena attendant on partial injuries of the brain, has been recognized by the best professional authorities, as the most satisfactory and consistent that has ever been propounded. In the Medico-Chirurgical Review for October, 1826, the following passage occurs:—

"The last of these questions" (the objection arising from injuries of the brain) "is investigated in an elaborate paper furnished to the "System," by Dr A. Combe, which succeeds completely in removing the objection. His reasons seem to us unanswerable, and unfold views which the physician can apply to the best purposes. The Essay is altogether satisfactory."—P. 466.

On page 296, you say, "If it were really true, that certain very visible and well-defined bumps on the skull were the necessary organs of all our faculties and propensities,—just as our eyes are of sight and our ears of hearing,—it is, in the first place, inconceivable, that the discovery should have remained to be made in the beginning of the 19th century."

The same profound objection goes to show, that the discovery of the revolution of the globe could not be true, because it was not made by Copernicus till 1510, nor defended by Galileo till 1608; that Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood must be a fable, because mankind continued ignorant of it till 1619; and that gas-light must be a perfect nonentity, because it was unknown till our own day! In the introduction to the "System" it is explained how the discovery was not made sooner; *Dissection* does not reveal the *functions* of any organ, and *Consciousness* does not intimate even the existence of organs of the mental faculties; nevertheless, anatomists prior to Dr Gall studied the brain chiefly by dissection, and metaphysicians studied the mind by reflection on their own consciousness; while he adopted a method entirely new, that of comparing the power of manifesting the various faculties with the size of particular parts

of the brain. It is, therefore, not strange, that he should arrive at results which the imperfections of their methods rendered it impossible or them to reach.

You proceed:—"In the second place, it is still more inconceivable, that, after the discovery was made, there should be *any body* who could pretend to doubt of its reality. The means of verifying it, one would think, must have been such as not to leave a pretext for the slightest hesitation; and the fact that, after twenty years preaching in its favour, it is far more generally rejected than believed, might seem to afford pretty conclusive evidence against the possibility of its truth."—P. 296.

In answer, I beg to refer you to Mr Locke's observations, cited on p. 9 of this Letter, and to the following extract from Professor Playfair's "Dissertation," prefixed to the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica:—

"It must not be supposed," says he, "that so great a revolution in science, as that which was made by the new analysis, (by Newton,) could be brought about entirely without opposition, as in every society there are some who think themselves interested to maintain things in the condition wherein they have found them. The considerations are indeed sufficiently obvious, which, in the moral and political world, tend to produce this effect, and to give a stability to human institutions often so little proportionate to their real value, or to their general utility. Even in matters purely intellectual, and in which the abstract truths of arithmetic and geometry seem alone concerned, *the prejudices*, the *selfishness*, or *the vanity* of those who pursue them, *not unfrequently combine to resist improvement*, and *often engage no inconsiderable degree of talent in drawing back, instead of pushing forward, the machine of science*. The *introduction of methods entirely new must often change the relative place of the men engaged in scientific pursuits*, and *must oblige many, after descending from the stations they formerly occupied, to take a lower position in the scale of intellectual improvement*. The enmity of such men, if they be not animated by a spirit of real candour and the love of truth, is likely to be directed against methods by which their vanity is mortified and their importance lessened."—*Dissertation, part 2d*, p. 27.

Mr Playfair, again, speaking of the discoveries of Newton in regard to the composition of light, says, "But all were not equally candid with the Dutch philosopher, [Huygens], and though the discovery now communicated had every thing to recommend it which can arise from what is great, new,

"and singular, though it *was not a theory or system of opinions,* "*but the generalization of facts made known by experiments,* and "though it was brought forward in a most simple and unpre- "tending form, *a host of enemies appeared, each eager to obtain* "*the unfortunate pre-eminence of being the first to attack conclu-* "*sions which the unanimous voice of posterity was to confirm.*"—(P. 56.) "Among them, one of the first was Father Pardies, "who *wrote* against the *experiments,* and *what he was pleased to* "*call the* HYPOTHESIS *of Newton.* A satisfactory and calm re- "ply convinced him of his mistake, which he had the candour "very readily to acknowledge. A countryman of his, Mariotte, "was more difficult to be reconciled, and *though very conver-* "*sant with experiment, appears never to have succeeded in repeat-* "*ing the experiments of Newton.*"—*Ib.* p. 57.

Here Mr Playfair's arm is raised not only to avenge the illustrious dead, but to protect from insult discoverers of every age. It is impossible to arrest the blow, even although it is you, his friend, who have thrust your head into the line of its descent.

On pages 295 and 296, you make a variety of allegations hostile to Phrenology, and say, that the Phrenologists "know well enough that the great body of the public concurs" with you;—you should have added, "and the whole empire of "China!"—If I have been successful in showing, that it is *impossible* to know any thing at all of the matter, except by practising observations, which you, and the great body of the public, misled by you, *have never done,* it follows that the good people of China are in every respect as competent witnesses against the truth of Phrenology as you and your adherents; and if *numbers* are to decide the question, they are not to be despised. You know well enough, that that portion of the public who have *examined the evidence* are to a man against you; and according to all rules of probation hitherto acted upon, the testimony of ten men informed on a subject outweighs that of a countless multitude whose ignorance is their only qualification. If I am not greatly deceived, you have in the present article over-estimated the extent of public ignorance regarding Phrenology, and relied on it a little more than may be advantageous to your philosophical reputation.

On p. 293, you state, that the whole question is, "whether "it be really *true*, that certain bumps on the head are the or- "gans of certain primitive, distinct, and universal faculties," you admit that "we cannot take upon ourselves to say that "the facts are absolutely false," but excuse yourself, in the following words, for not entering on a scrutiny of this most important of all the points in the discussion. "Suppose," you say, "that we were merely to allege that, so far as our observation "went, the facts (of the Phrenologists) seemed all to be imaginary— "that it was a matter of notoriety, that men with large heads were "*not* generally of superior endowments, nor those with small, defi- "cient in understanding—that in the circle of our acquaintance "there were many kind mothers without any protuberance on the "lower part of their skulls, many men of wit with no triangular "prominences beyond the temples, and many eloquent and loqua- "cious persons, of both sexes, with no unusual projection of the "eyes—that, in fact, we had never happened to meet with any one "individual in whom a marked peculiarity of character or disposi- "tion was accompanied by any of their external indications, and "that we daily saw remarkable enough bumps on the heads of very "ordinary people—that most of those with whom we conversed had "made the same observations, and concurred in the same results," &c.

"They would call on us to name our instances, and would "cavil at them when they were named; or, because we declin- "ed submitting the heads of respectable ladies and gentlemen "to an impertinent palpation, and their characters, temper, "and manners, to a still more impertinent discussion,—because "we did not choose to offend many worthy people, by pointing "them out as the owners of bumps, without the corresponding "faculties,—or to engage in a quarterly wrangle about the "Ideality of Dr Chalmers, or the Adhesiveness of Mrs M'Kin- "non, they would complain, that we used allegations which "we refused to verify, and contend, that nothing but a fair "scrutiny was wanting to their success."—P. 296.

No, indeed, the Phrenologists would make no such complaints. In regard to your facts, they would simply remind you, that you entered upon the observation of them avowedly with the conviction, "first, that *there is not the least rea-* "*son to suppose* that *any* of our faculties, but those which con- "nect us with external objects, or direct the movements of our "bodies, ACT BY MATERIAL ORGANS AT ALL, and that the phre- "nological organs have *no analogy whatever with those of the ex-* "*ternal senses;* second, that *it is quite plain,* that there *neither*

"*are, nor can be, any such primitive and original faculties* as the "greater part of those to which such organs are assigned."—P. 294. They would remark, farther, that the consequences of these impressions would be, first, that you would not, in all probability, take the trouble to become acquainted accurately, with the form and position of organs which you had thus settled to be mere fictions of imagination; and, secondly, that you would be as little likely to study, so as to comprehend distinctly, the functions ascribed to faculties which you had already dismissed, as what neither existed nor could exist; and they would state, with all deference, that a person thus prepossessed was not in the *best condition* for making *impartial* observations, and would not be *over-disposed* to recognize concomitances of organic development with mental manifestations, even although such should actually present themselves. As proofs of the truth of these inferences, they would refer, first, to your ignorance of the situation of the organs manifested, in your placing "COLOUR in the "forehead, and TUNE on the eyebrow, over the *middle of* "*the eye*," p. 259, and describing Concentrativeness on one page, (274,) "as having a goodly organ in the *back* part of "the head, just above Love of Children and below Self-es-"teem;" and on another page, (274,) as having "two dis-"tinct organs of *an angular shape* on the *sides* of the cranium;" secondly, to your blunders concerning the faculties, which are nearly as numerous as your notices of them; and, thirdly, to the surprising circumstance, that you "*never* happened to "meet with *any one individual* in whom a marked peculi-"arity of character or disposition was accompanied by *any* "*of* their external indications," because, unless you had been absolutely resolved not to see, you must, according to the principle of the calculation of chances, have stumbled, *by mere accident*, upon, at least, one concomitance, out of any considerable number of observations.*

* The assertion in the text really *proves*, either that you have never looked, or been unwilling to see. You have frequently met Mr Thomas Moore,

As to calling you to "name your instances," and engage in a quarterly wrangle about the Ideality "of Dr Chalmers, "or the Adhesiveness of Mrs M'Kinnon," the Phrenologists would not propose any such offence to your editorial dignity and delicacy. If you wished to come to issue on the facts of the science, they would invite you to the Phrenological Hall, (and this they have done for the last four years, and by opening it to public inspection,) they would show you authenticated casts of the skulls of King Robert Bruce, Raphael, La Fontaine, Bellingham, Sheridan, &c.; masks, taken from nature, of *Henri Quatre*, Swift, Burke, Pitt, Fox, &c; masks from authenticated busts of Voltaire, Franklin, &c.; actual skulls of executed criminals, whose actions were proved before juries; and a great variety of skulls of most of the nations of the globe, whose manners and characters are matters of philosophical history; and they would stand or fall by the accordance, or non-accordance of the development of brain in these instances, with the publicly-acknowledged talents and dispositions of the individuals and nations.

I regret, that, in addition to all the other points of your article, which it has been imperative on me to controvert, I am obliged to call in question, and reject, an indirect compliment which you are pleased to bestow upon my work, not, as, perhaps, you anticipate, because it is not sufficiently flattering to my Self-esteem, but because it is ill-founded and unjust. You say, that Phrenology, in my hands, has "assumed, FOR THE FIRST TIME, an aspect not absolutely "ludicrous, by my retrenching many of the ridiculous illus-"trations and inconsistent assumptions of *its inventors*," &c.

and you are intimately acquainted with his works. The Westminster Review was led to remark, that in his life of Sheridan there are 2500 similes, exclusive of metaphors and regularly-built allegories. This is pretty conclusive evidence as to his manifesting the *faculty* of Comparison, as described in the System, p. 339; and I venture to state, from observation, that the organ is so largely developed in his head as to be discernible at the distance of several yards, in the very form assigned to it on the busts; and yet you never saw this concomitance!

Such an assertion could be made only in utter ignorance of the writings of Drs Gall and Spurzheim,—men whose profound intellects and extensive information place them in the highest rank of philosophical authors.

This letter, like your review, has turned out rather long and desultory; and I beg leave, in concluding, briefly to recapitulate the topics on which it has touched. I have endeavoured then, to shew that Phrenology is more widely extended, and deeply rooted in the public estimation, than you appear to be aware of;—that your grand proposition, of the internal mental faculties not acting by means of organs at all, is refuted, by the known effects of opium and wine, and also discountenanced by the authority of your own review, of Cullen, Gregory, and Magendie;—that your objection to the assignment of separate faculties to the mind, is obviated by Mr Welsh's metaphysical answer, and absolutely refuted by the successive appearance of the mental powers in youth, by the phenomena of partial genius, of dreaming, somnambulism, idiocy, and monomania;— that in your denial of the Phrenological faculties, as primitive principles of mind, you stand opposed to Reid, Kames, Stewart, Brown, and the greatest metaphysicians of Britain, who admit of faculties similar to seven-tenths of them;—that in your attempts to resolve several of these faculties into one, as the love of young women, of children, &c., into Benevolence, and Hope and Fear into mere negations of each other, you refute yourself;—that your objections to Concentrativeness, Individuality, Size, and Weight, are founded on erroneous representations of the Phrenological statements and conclusions;—that on Colouring, the Phrenological theory is consistent in itself, and with nature; while your *doctrine* in the Encyclopædia, and *fact* in the Review, on this point, are at variance with each other;—that your objections to *Size* in the organs, as a measure of power in the case of the external senses, are refuted by the authority of Blumenbach, Sœmmering, Monro, &c.; all of whom teach, that this rule holds, in regard to the nerves of the senses, con-

firming thereby the opinions of "grand-mamma wolf," and upsetting yours;—that Magendie teaches the same doctrine, in regard to the brain and internal faculties;—that the reality of the distinction between *power* and *activity*, as separate qualities of mind, which you deny, is supported by the opinion of Bonaparte, and proved, besides, by examples of characters on the stage;—that this distinction holds even in the case of colouring, as is established by the power displayed by Titian and Rubens on canvas, contrasted with the activity of an assorter of ribbons, or of a miss selecting threads for her sampler;—that your objections, founded on the effects of education and disease in the mental faculties, are rendered plausible, solely by your omitting the qualification, constantly stated by the Phrenologists, that *Size* determines *power*, *only* when OTHER THINGS ARE EQUAL; and by misrepresenting their doctrine, which is this, that if the *same* education, or the *same* stimulus of disease is applied to two brains, one large, and the other small, the effects produced will be great or small in the direct ratio of the size of the brain;—that modifications of character to some extent are perfectly in accordance with phrenological principles; but that changes of talents and dispositions have their limits in nature, and in Phrenology also;—that your objections to the Phrenological organs not being radically distinct in their appearances, are equally applicable to many of the nerves, and particularly to the nerves of motion and feeling, which are as little distinguishable from each other in structure and appearance, as the organs in the brain, and yet are ascertained to perform separate functions;—that your contempt of the anatomical discoveries of Drs Gall and Spurzheim, is founded in ignorance, and discountenanced by the greatest modern anat[illegible]hile your assignment of the merit of such part of [illegible] as you admit to be true, to Reil, is refuted by the testimony of Reil himself;—that the treatment which Phrenology has met with from

you and other critical authorities, is accounted for by Professor Playfair, when discussing the reception given to the discoveries of Newton;—that the Phrenologists have offered you means of verifying or refuting their facts, not inconsistent with either your dignity or delicacy, but of which you have sedulously declined to avail yourself;—and, finally, that, even in the indirect praise which you bestow on the System of Phrenology, the same lack of knowledge and just discrimination is conspicuous which characterizes all the other parts of your Article.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, very humble servant,

GEO. COMBE.

Edinburgh, October 31, 1826.

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AN EXPOSURE

OF

THE HAMILTONIAN SYSTEM

OF

TEACHING LANGUAGES:

IN A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE AUTHOR OF AN ARTICLE RECOMMENDING

THAT SYSTEM

IN

No. LXXXVII. OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

By J. JONES, LL.D. M.R.S.L.

"Docentur, ut ipsi intelligant."—QUINTILIAN.

"No bait is found so effectual as pretensions to a New Method."
GOLDSMITH.

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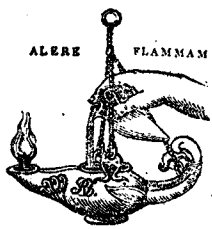

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A Letter addressed to the Author of an Article in the Edinburgh Review, recommending the Hamiltonian System of Education.

SIR,

THE object of your Article is to recommend Mr. Hamilton's system: and my object in addressing this Letter to you, is to expose it as a scheme founded in avarice, and calculated only to impose on the ignorance and credulity of the public. The Author has been fortunate enough to obtain the powerful recommendation of a writer, who has no share in the interested motives that guide his conduct; and to the exercise of whose fine talents, the nation is indebted for many unequivocal proofs of zeal for civil and religious liberty, and for the improvement of the rising generation. Being an humble individual, I have not the vanity to suppose that a publication from my pen can counteract the extensive effect of the Edinburgh Review: but I write with the hope of inducing you to reconsider the subject; and if you see reason to alter your mind, to avail yourself of the same broad channel for setting right the public opinion.

You say, "We have nothing to do with Mr. Hamilton personally." No, he is not so great a simpleton as to wish your personal recommendation; he only wished the Edinburgh Review to recommend his system, that he might turn the public favour still more to his advantage: and this you have done to the fullest extent of his wishes. I too would be glad to avoid all personal reflection on Mr. Hamilton; but I fear the exposure of his plan must necessarily reflect on his motives and attainments: and if I feel pain in endeavouring to thwart an individual, I have the satisfaction of doing so for the public good.

Before I proceed further, I must here apprise you, Sir, that in this address I shall consider Mr. Hamilton only as professing to

teach Latin and Greek; and if his system here shall be found to fail, no great credit will be due to him as a professor of modern languages.

Mr. Hamilton's system, as far as it is peculiar, consists in three things: first, in excluding the use of the grammar and dictionary; secondly, in affixing to each term one undeviating signification, however differently applied; and thirdly, in prescribing to the pupils a *Key*, containing a closely literal version. On each of these heads I shall make a few brief remarks. And with regard to the first, I observe that the Latin and Greek grammars furnish systems of general principles as necessary to construe the simplest sentence, as the knowledge of the letters is for reading. I here suppose the attention of the learner to be at first directed solely to general principles; such as the declensions of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and the conjugations of verbs, without dwelling on exceptions or technical rules of syntax, until he shall have made some progress in construing.

Mr. Hamilton professes to teach *ten thousand* words in *ten lessons* of one hour each; and this vast multitude of words he finds in the Gospel of John. This circumstance at once falsifies the assertion. The Gospel of John is the simplest of all narratives, and consists not of many words, but of the same words, and those the most common, repeated some more or less in every verse from beginning to end*. Exclude the indeclinable particles, such as the prepositions and conjunctions, and the aggregate of all the terms will hardly amount to ten thousand. Here then we discover the

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* This shows at once that the Gospel of John was the least adapted to answer Mr. Hamilton's purpose, namely to supply a *copia verborum*, if he wished to act fairly with the public. Why then did he make his first experiment of Greek in this Gospel? This is the obvious reason: His pupils being already acquainted with it, and probably having read it in French, Italian, and Latin, for the same end, they would appear to themselves and to others to have learnt the Greek words from his lessons, while in reality they gather the meaning from their previous knowledge of the context. After they are said to have learnt this Gospel, so as to be able to construe it, let some of the words which occur in it, be pointed out in Xenophon, and the delusion would instantly vanish. Not one word in ten would they know in this new connection.—This is a clear proof that Mr. Hamilton knows well how to turn the ignorance of others to his own advantage.

grossest imposture. Reduce the repetition of every word, and the variety of terminations under which each appears, to *one*, and the ten thousand dwindle down to a few hundreds. The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer exceed *sixty thousand verses;* each of these on an average contains six words. All the words in these poems then amount to three hundred and sixty thousand; and at the rate of ten thousand in ten lessons, or one thousand in one lesson, a pupil of Mr. Hamilton will learn three hundred and sixty thousand words in three hundred and sixty lessons or three hundred and sixty hours!

This immense volume of words must be learnt by mere dint of memory, without any aid from the understanding, unassisted by analogy or any general principle whatever: and yet, for the honour of his consistency, Mr. Hamilton asserts that nothing is learnt by rote in his establishment!!

I will illustrate this position on a smaller scale. The article and relative pronouns, with all the variety of case, gender and number, appear under at least forty forms, exclusive of poetic licenses; and according to Mr. Hamilton's computation, constitute forty distinct words: whereas the person who has learnt his grammar, regards them under all their varieties as only *two* words. He knows the connection which each form has with its theme; and by observing their analogy with the models of the first and second declensions, he has learnt them in the course of half an hour without difficulty and ever retains them with fidelity. Far different is the case with a scholar of Mr. Hamilton: notwithstanding their unity in respect to meaning, their difference to the eye makes them distinct words,—all loose, all unconnected, and requiring forty different efforts of memory to retain them.

But after the pupil has made some progress in the knowledge of words, "a grammar," says Mr. Hamilton, "containing the declensions and conjugations, and printed specially for my classes, is then put into the pupil's hands (not to be got by heart,—nothing is ever got by rote on this system) but that he may comprehend more readily his teacher on grammar generally, but especially on the verbs." This paragraph, if it contain any truth, is a tacit acknowledgement that his own system turns out impracticable, and he is obliged after abusing the confidence, and misapplying the talents of his pupils, to return to the established method of learning the

grammar." He finds his scholars sinking on one hand under the difficulty of retaining in their minds a mass of words half learnt and half barbarous, and incapable on the other of mastering the still greater mass that lies before them, and he slily retreats with the pupils in his train to teach that at last which he ought to have taught from the beginning,—the inflexions of nouns and verbs. These inflexions after all are not to be got by heart,—nothing is to be got by rote on this system; no, a knowledge of a comparatively few terminations which would reduce a million of words into a few thousands, and of thousands into a few hundreds, is not to be got by heart. This is said in the same breath where the pupils are said to have learnt ten thousand words, and that by the exertion of the memory. What drudgery can be more painful than this? what abuse of time, what trouble on the part of well-disposed young men can be more gross and more fruitless? and what more stupid, more wanton and inconsistent on the side of the master?

A child in his fifth year learns the names, figures and powers of the letters, puts them together so as to form syllables, and is thus enabled to read. A person starts up and professes to have invented a system which supersedes all this trouble, and he teaches to read without the necessity of learning the alphabet. He takes a child for his pupil yet not knowing his letters, and he points his attention to some such sentence as the following: "The God who made me is great and good." The master puts his pencil on the first word, directing him to look at it, and teaching him to utter the sound *the*. This he repeats in connection with the figure, till the child can distinguish and enunciate it, wherever he discovers it in the page. He leads his pupil through the same process in regard to the succeeding words, till he acquires the whole sentence: in the course of a fortnight he extends, by continued attention, the acquisition of his little scholar over several pages. The master then takes the child to his parents; and he fills them with surprise and delight. Unable to contain the important discovery, they tell their neighbours of a wonderful art invented by a certain clever man, of reading without the trouble of learning the alphabet. He again resumes his charge; but as he proceeds, he finds the task increasing in difficulty, till it becomes impracticable. He returns therefore to the first elements; and his pupil, after much labour lost, and after being raised in his own conceit far above the letters, has

now the mortification to find that he must after all learn them. The cheat is then discovered, and the professor is laughed to scorn.—This will be found the exact parallel of Mr. Hamilton.

I now proceed to the second head of his system, thus contained in his own words. "I have said that each word is translated by its *one sole* undeviating meaning, assuming as an incontrovertible principle in all languages, that, with very few exceptions, each word has one meaning only, and can usually be rendered correctly into another by one word only, which one word should serve for its representative at all times and all occasions."

You found it necessary, Sir, to disguise the strange doctrine advanced by the author in this paragraph. "Mr. Hamilton," you say, "has expressed himself loosely: but he perhaps means no more than to say that in school translations, the metaphysical meaning should never be adopted, when the word can be rendered by its primary signification." If you thought proper to dispense critical justice with impartiality on this occasion, you would have remarked that the man who could advance a position so absurd, must be a total stranger to the theory of language, and never could have submitted in English or Greek a single sentence to a correct analysis.

The meaning of words depends on the association of ideas; and to say that each word has but one sole idea, is to say that the idea at first annexed to a term cannot be altered by subsequent associations. All associations are in continued flux; and the same word, as it is associated with different words in different connections, must hence borrow a new shade which modifies its primary signification. An example shows this better than description: απολυω means literally "I loose from," or simply "loose." Suppose this verb to occur in different places, with the representatives of such nouns as *accusation, assembly, army, disease, captive, labour, obligation, desire, argument.* An acquaintance with Greek authors will prove this supposition to be a fact. The original and simple meaning of "I loose from," combining successively with each noun as its object, becomes a compound idea, and requires to be expressed by a new verb in English if at all adequately expressed. Thus I loose from *accusation,* acquit,—loose *an assembly,* dismiss —loose *an army,* disband,—loose from *disease,* heal,—loose a *captive,* release,—loose from *labour,* exonerate,—loose from *obligation,*

forgive, cancel,—loose *desire*, gratify, satisfy,—loose an *argument*, refute *. This single example lays open the theory of all languages, and blows up into air the very foundation of the Hamiltonian System. But the best commentary on this text is his own literal version, which I shall next consider. You say, " Whether Mr. Hamilton's translations are good or bad is not the question." The question is the eligibility of the Hamiltonian system; and surely, if the Key to it be found radically bad, the system itself cannot be good: and the Edinburgh Reviewer will be found to mislead the nation by recommending it as eligible: and I will now show to you and the public that his translations, in which he prides as peculiar to himself, and as the very foundation of his system, are but a disgusting tissue of barbarisms, as remote from the Greek, as it is from English and even from common sense.

1. The article ὁ, ἡ, το, always means *the* before nouns: but in Homer and Herodotus it is also *he, who, that.* This meaning it has before participles in the common tongue, though Mr. Hamilton, in conformity with his system, renders it in its usual acceptation. Thus ὁ πιστευων εις αυτον ου κρινεται, John iii. 18, 'he believing in him—he who believes in him—is not judged;' which stands thus in the Key, 'the believing into him is judged not.' This mode of rendering the article runs through the whole, and makes the version not only uncouth and ungrammatical, but an unintelligible mass of jargon.

2. In Greek the article is prefixed to proper names of men and places: but its intention is to mark the common name understood. Thus ὁ Ιησους, ὁ ανηρ Ιησους; ἡ Γαλαλαια, ἡ χωρα or γῆ Γαλαλαια; ὁ Ιορδανης, ὁ ποταμος Ιορδανος. Now as it is known what these proper names designate, the article adds nothing to the sense, and ought to be omitted in a version, as inconsistent with the genius of the English language. The learner once for all should have this feature of the Greek pointed out to him; and he should be told that the import is 'the *man* Jesus;' 'the *country* Galilee;' 'the *river* Jordan.'

3. The article in Greek often defines an individual or a class of objects, in opposition to other individuals or classes. Thus Θεος 'God' is commonly contrasted with men, or demons, or angels,

* See Jones's Greek and English Lexicon.

expressed or implied in the context; and under such circumstances it never fails to have the article—ὁ θεος, always translated by Mr. Hamilton, 'the God.' I object to this translation not only because it is uncouth, but because it conveys no meaning in English, and is short of the true meaning in Greek. The learner should have the contrast pointed out; and the article has its full import assigned. This requires a competent critic: the other is the mere work of a boy, who knows that ὁ in Greek is *the* in English.

4. The name of a species or kind without the article is indefinite in Greek: so it is in English. But when a noun expresses an object numerically *one*, the latter has an advantage over the former as having an indefinite article. Thus 'a man' is expressed in Greek by ανθρωπος, the context serving to show whether it denotes the whole species or an individual. If the context indicate this sense, the English version would be *unfaithful*, if it omitted the indefinite article: and with this omission the Hamiltonian Key is chargeable from beginning to end. Thus in chap. iv. 17, he renders ανδρα by 'man,' instead of 'a man;' ver. 19, προφητης, 'prophet,' for 'a prophet:' chap. v. 4, αγγελος, 'angel,' for 'an angel.' A boy of an ordinary capacity, needed not to be told more than once of this circumstance; as a little reflection would always enable him to judge whether the indefinite article should be used with the word corresponding to the original, or not. Thus the exercise of his faculties begins, and every new general principle adds to his improvement and alacrity in the cultivation of this difficult but delightful language.

5. The termination of a noun in a sentence points out the relation which it bears to the verb or some other word: the termination of the article, of an adjective, participle or pronoun, has no such meaning, being determined by the noun they define, and agreeing with it solely to express their dependence on that noun. This circumstance Mr. Hamilton has overlooked, and he frequently annexes to these the sign which belongs to the noun only. Thus, εκ δε της εκεινης πολεως πολλοι των Σαμαρειτων επιστευσαν εις αυτον, chap. iv. 39. which his Key thus opens: "But out *of the of that* city many of the Samaritans believed into him."

6. When a noun in the genitive is followed by others in the same case, the sign of the first needs not to be repeated before the rest, especially if no emphasis be intended. Thus, εν ταυταις πολυ

πλῆθος τῶν ασθενουντων κατεκειτο, τυφλῶν, χωλῶν, ξηρῶν εκδεχομενων την κινησιν τοῦ ὑδατος, chap. v. 3; that is, 'In these lay a great multitude of those being infirm—of those who were infirm—blind, lame, withered, expecting the agitation of the water:' which stands thus in the Hamiltonian version; "In to these much multitude of the being infirm was laid, of blind, of lame, of withered, of expecting the movement of the water." If any sense can be made of this jumble, it violates the spirit of the original. For the Evangelist in omitting the article and the conjunction before τυφλῶν, χωλῶν, ξηρῶν, wished to hurry the reader over the multitude of whom he speaks, as it were to have a full view of them all at once; whereas the repetition of the preposition *of* before each word, arrests his progress, and causes him to drag slowly along the verse.

7. When a preposition is used before a noun, its peculiar termination expressive of the same relation becomes *quiescent*, and the governed noun is to be rendered as if it had no such termination. Thus περι τοῦ φωτος, chap. i. 7, 'concerning the light;' and not, as Mr. Hamilton translates it, "about of the light;" εν τῳ ἱερῳ, chap. iv. 14, 'in to the temple;' παρ' αυτῶν, ver. 52, 'from of them;' and επι τουτῳ, ver. 27, 'on to this.' This he has done after every preposition, rendering his version a string of absurdities, which he might have avoided by giving his pupils the above general principle.

8. A circumstance similar to this takes place in the verbs. For the terminations which mark the distinctions of mood, tense, number and person, were originally distinct words annexed to the verb, and thus becoming one with it. The personal ending *o* in *amo*, is but a fragment of *ego*, added to the radical *am*, 'love.' The same remark holds in Greek, λεγω being an abbreviation of λεγ εγω. The verb then in every person carries that person in itself, which serves in the absence of a noun in the nominative, to mark it. Thus εστι means not simply 'is,' but '*he* is,' or '*she* is,' or '*it* is;' thus also εἰσι, '*they* are.' This is a fundamental principle in the Latin and Greek languages, and is practically taught in the grammar: yet Mr. Hamilton appears not to have been aware of it; and he thus translates the clause in chap. v. 13, ὁ δε ιαθεις ουκ ηδει τις εστι, 'but the wasing healed had known not who is;' meaning that, 'he who was healed had no previous knowledge who Jesus was.' So again in chap. i. 15, ὁυτος ην, ὁν ειπον, 'this was whom I said,'

for 'this was *he*, whom I said;' ειπον ουν αυτῳ τις εἶ, ver. 22, "therefore they said to him, who art?" and not as it should be, 'Who art *thou?*'

9. The two aorist participles in Greek have precisely the sense of the perfect participle which is expressed in English by the past or passive participle, compounded with 'having' prefixed. Thus τετυφως 'having beaten,' which is also the exact sense of τυψας, τυπων. But Mr. Hamilton, wishing to appear more discriminating than other teachers, and to give his system an air of novelty, expresses the aorist participles by barbarisms unintelligible, and as foreign to the English as they are to the Greek language. Thus in chap. i. 19. he renders πεμψας, which means neither more nor less than 'having sent,' by 'senting;' εμβλεψας, ver. 36, 'having looked upon,' by 'lookeding;' στραφεις, ver. 38, 'having turned himself,' by 'wasing turned;' and in the same verse θεασαμενος, 'having seen,' by 'sawing.' These fooleries run through the whole version, and render it as fruitless to his pupils as a heap of sand.

When a command is given by one man to another, the idea of the *past* is excluded, the attention being necessarily fixed on the time when the command is to be executed, namely, the time *subsequent*. For this reason the imperative in the aorists, and for reasons not dissimilar, the subjunctive, optative, and infinitive, have in general the same sense with the corresponding moods in the present tense. A competent judge of the language, who has traced things to their elements, would apprise his scholars of this feature in the Greek tongue, and direct them to the proper translation. Not so does Mr. Hamilton, who renders the aorist imperative ιδε, which signifies simply 'see thou,' or 'behold thou,' by 'saw thou,' chap. i. 29; γενεσθαι, 'to become,' by 'to been,' ver. 12; ὑψωθῆναι, 'to be lifted on high,' by 'to been lifted high:' chap. iii. 14; μειναι, 'to remain,' by 'to remained:' and this is his uniform practice.

10. A verb in Greek governing the genitive, or dative, or ablative, generally speaking does not require the sign of the governed case, when rendered in English. For example, επιστευσαν τῃ γραφῇ, 'they believed the Scripture,' which Mr. Hamilton translates, 'they believed to the writing,' chap. ii. 22. Thus also he renders ηκουσαν αυτου by, 'they heard of him,' instead of 'they heard him;' ηκολουθησαν τῳ Ιησου, 'they followed to Jesus,' and

not as he ought, 'they followed Jesus,' chap. i. 37. The reason of this difference between the two languages is, that those verbs which govern an oblique case in the original are transitive, governing the accusative in English. A judicious teacher, whenever an instance of this kind occurs, would be careful to inform his pupils of such peculiarity, instead of introducing into his version a solecism at once uncouth and unintelligible. They would then know what they ought to know, and be free to conform to the genius of their own tongue, without burlesquing the original.

11. Moreover, Mr. Hamilton affectedly renders in English the sign of the infinitive in cases where it is inconsistent with its idiom. Thus, he renders ουδεις δυναται ποιειν by, 'no one can *to* do,' instead of 'no one can do.' The infinitive denotes action in the abstract; and is often to be regarded as an abstract noun having dropped its verbal character. For example: πριν το παιδιον μου αποθανειν, the exact meaning of which is, 'before the death of my child—before my child dies.' But Mr. Hamilton renders the clause, 'before the little child of me to died.'

12. The imperfect tense in Greek and Latin denotes a continued state of being, or a past action carried on during some other action expressed or implied in the context. It signifies therefore *custom, use, continuance.* Now Mr. Hamilton uniformly misapplies this tense, rendering it by *did,* thus limiting the sense of the verb to the *past* tense, or affirming it, when that is denied. Thus he translates ημελλε αποθνησκειν, chap. iv. 47, 'he *did* be about to die,' the exact sense being 'he was about to die—he was dying.' In like manner, the clause και εθαυμαζον ότι ελαλει μετα γυναικος, v. 27, he renders 'and they *did* wonder that he *did* speak with of a woman,' while he ought to have rendered it thus, 'and they *were wondering* that he *continued to speak* with a woman.' This is his regular practice; and thus he excludes his scholars from comprehending the true character of the imperfect tense in Greek authors.

13. In the ancient languages, the juxta-position of two words supplies the place of the substantive verb. This is the case particularly in Hebrew; and it is the case more or less in Greek and Latin. Thus in μακαριοι οι πτωχοι, the epithet μακαριοι, being placed by the side of οι πτωχοι, induces the intelligent reader to conclude that it belongs to it as its predicate; as no other verb is

present, the collocation suggests the absence of the connecting verb εἰσι: and if I were to translate the clause into English or any modern language, where the omission is not usual, my translation would be not only uncouth but *unfaithful* to the original, if I did not translate it "Blessed *are* the poor." Juvenal thus begins his first *Satire*. "Semper ego auditor tantum." The relation of ego and auditor as subject and predicate, suggests the subintellection of the connecting verb in the future tense—ero 'shall be.' On these words Mr. Hamilton observes, "A gentleman has lately given a translation of Juvenal, beginning with semper ego, which he joins and translates 'shall I always be:' if his intention were to teach Latin words, he might as well have said, shall I always eat beef steaks." It is curious to see the complacency and confidence with which Mr. Hamilton portrays his own ignorance. The gentleman would doubtless answer, In a language where ellipses are common, the context has meaning, as well as the words of the context; and no learner could be so stupid as not to know that '*shall be*' placed in italics, is not the sense of ego or auditor, but the omission inculcated by the collocation, and necessary in a version to render the meaning complete. And I ask any man of common sense, which is most rational, which most edifying to the learner, to explain the cause of the ellipsis in the original, and the necessity of supplying it in a translation, or to place before him in a Key a barbarous and unintelligible version, without one word of explanation. Mr. Hamilton has uniformly acted on this last principle; and he leaves his pupils as ignorant as himself on the subject.

14. Another feature of the Greek language and which distinguishes it from English and even from Latin is, that it expresses possession by the personal pronoun in the genitive, and not by the same pronoun changed into an adjective, and made to agree with it. Thus πατηρ ἡμῶν, 'the father of us—our father;' πατηρ σου, 'father of thee—thy father,'—πατηραυτοῦ, 'father of him—*his* father,'—πατηρ ἀυτοῦ, 'the father of himself—*his own* father.' Now, which is best, to apprise the pupils of this difference, and enable them by a variety of examples to change the original so as to correspond with the genius of their own tongue, or to encumber his version with idioms that are foreign and repulsive? The first would furnish them with a principle of vast application, calculated

to smooth their way at every step; the second would leave them in darkness which cannot fail to bewilder them, and, in the absence of other general principles, doom them to be the victims of painful drudgery.

15. I must here lift up my voice, and reprobate a most unwarrantable license which Mr. Hamilton has adopted without apprising his readers. He transposes certain particles in the original from positions where they have an appropriate force, and places them where they enable him to exhibit the words of the Evangelist in the most distorted form. Thus he puts δε, γαρ, ουν, the first words in the sentence, where they never occur in the original; and the negatives μη, ου or ουκ, which always appear before the verb, and which should ever be joined with it in construction, he transfers and puts before the succeeding noun, where the negation is preposterous. One example of this is sufficient. The original runs thus, ὁς δ' αν πιῃ εκ τοῦ ὑδατος ὁυ. εγω δωσω αυτῷ, ου μη διψησῃ εις τον αιῶνα, chap. iv. 14: that is, 'Whoever shall drink of this water of which I shall give him, shall not thirst for ever.' In Greek two negatives render the affirmation more emphatic, and can be expressed in English only by repeating the verb, 'He shall not thirst,—no; he shall not for ever.' This clause is thus travestied by Mr. Hamilton, δε ὁς αν πιῃ εκ τοῦ ὑδατος ου (a mistake for ὁυ) εγω δωσω αυτῷ διψησῃ ου μη εις τον αιῶνα, 'But who should drink out of the water, of which I shall give to him, he should thirst not not into the eternity.' It is impossible not to suspect but that his conduct here and in similar instances is dictated by a secret wish to burlesque the Gospel of John, and to render an attempt to learn Greek impracticable.

Remarks like these might be much further pursued: I give them as specimens of what an intelligent master would furnish his pupils, as they proceed in construing Greek. They form a criterion whereby to judge of Mr. Hamilton's translation; and they warrant the three following conclusions: first, that to form a Key like his, no other qualification is necessary than an ability, by means of a dictionary or by the help of the common version, to annex an English word to the corresponding word in the Greek Testament; —secondly, that Mr. Hamilton's plan is improperly called *a system*: he should rather have called it an *anti-system*, as it is constructed on the absence of every general principle, which renders the study

of language rational, instructive, and agreeable. It appears indeed from his own words, that he considers language as not founded in reason; and he has done all that he could, instead of calling forth, to extinguish the rational faculties in the acquisition of it.

My third conclusion is, that while Mr. Hamilton's method exercises the memory alone, he has, by studied perversion, rendered what is to be stored in the memory most irksome and repulsive. If he thought fit to present his scholars in the form of a Key with a jargon at once uncouth, ungrammatical, and scarcely intelligible, he ought as a competent master to have supplied them with some intermediate ideas, by which they might convert it into sense and grammar. But he plunges them at once into sheer fooleries, and leaves them there, reaping the fruits of his own cunning and their credulity, like the fox in the fable, who, finding himself in a pit, lures a goat to come down and help him out; and having thus escaped by means of his horns, Reynard marches off with the remark that, if his friend had wisdom as long as his beard, he would not have descended there.

The remainder of this letter shall consist of a few brief observations on some of the positions which form the leading object of your article. This object is to discourage the use of the dictionary as a wretched waste of time, and to recommend literal translations as a great saving of time. The picture you give of a lively youth belabouring his lexicon, is truly pitiable. It is not however a picture representing the truth, but a caricature copied from your own imagination. Much abuse of this sort has doubtless existed, and still exists in some schools, but it no where reaches the description you give of it. "We will now suppose," you say, "after running a dirty finger down many columns, and after many sighs and groans, that the word is found,—we presume the little fellow working in the true orthodox manner, without any translation: he is in pursuit of the Greek word βαλλω, and after a long chase, seizes it as greedily as a bailiff possesses himself of a fugacious captain. But alas! the vanity of human wishes! the never sufficiently to be pitied stripling has scarcely congratulated himself upon his success, when he finds βαλλω to contain the following meanings in Hederic's Lexicon: 1 Jacio, 2 Jaculor, 3 Ferio, 4 Figo, 5 Saucio, 6 Attingo, 7 Projicio, 8 Emitto, 9 Profundo, 10 Pono, 11 Immitto, 12 Trado, 13 Committo, 14 Condo, 15 Ædifico,

16 Verso, 17 Flecto*. Suppose the little rogue, not quite at home in the Latin tongue, to be desirous of affixing English significations to these various words, he then at the moderate rate of six meanings to every Latin word, has one hundred and two meanings to the word βαλλω: or if he is content with the Latin, he has then only seventeen."

If this be a faithful representation of the case, no rational fathers would allow a lexicon to be put in the hands of his child; but the statement is not true, nor fair, nor candid. If the explanation of Greek words be in Latin, or very defective, I have a right to suppose a Greek and English Lexicon better constructed; and if such do not exist, I have a right to suppose further that a master is appointed capable in a measure to supply its place. The question then is, whether a good dictionary with the assistance of an intelligent master, or a literal translation, be best calculated to teach the Latin and Greek tongues?

Our ideas as expressed by words, exist in the mind connected as cause and effect or as antecedent and consequent, or arbitrarily joined by the regular recurrence of the same external act. This will form a chain of more or less extent; and when a word happens to denote the first link, it comes by subsequent associations to express the second, third, &c. Thus ακουω means "I hear;" the consequence of hearing *a sound* is "to listen:" the consequence of hearing *the voice of authority* is "to obey:" the consequence

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* As the reviewer has instanced βαλλω in Hederic, I will here produce a part of the same instance as it stands in my Lexicon, to show the reader that, while the use of an ill-constructed or imperfect lexicon is tedious and fruitless to the learner, the use of one more rational is most agreeable and useful to him. Βαλλω, aor. 2. ἔβαλον—βαλεω, f. βαλεσω, by sync. βαλῶ, f. m. βαλοῦμαι—βλεω, f. βλησω, f. 1. pass. βληθησομαι, aor. 1. ἐβληθην, I throw, hit, smite, Il. α. 53.—throw *around*, scatter—throw *to another*, give, deliver—throw *a net*, cast, fling—throw *in money*, deposit—throw *in water*, pour—throw *a sickle*, put forth, Rev. 4. 16—throw *in seed*, sow—put *forth leaves*, shoot, germinate, Theo. on Plants, 9. 22—throw *on a couch*, lay, Mat. 8. 6.—throw *out of doors*, reject, lose, &c. Here the original meaning of the verb is carried on each step; and the unity of it preserved, though somewhat modified: and hence we see the impropriety of marking the separate senses by figures, as Hederic has done; thus leading the learner to conclude that each new step is independent of the preceding one, whereas the division is quite arbitrary, and proceeds solely from the caprice or ignorance of the lexicographer.

of hearing *the language of reason* is 'to understand.' This exhausts the sense of the verb; and the transition from one step to another is so easy and obvious, that, if the first be duly impressed on the pupil, the rest spontaneously follow. Now let the learner be supposed to meet in his lesson the follow maxim of Jesus Christ, ὁ εχων ὠτα ακουειν, ακουετω, 'he having ears *to hear*, let him *hear*.' He is asked if the verb, in the last clause, has the same precise meaning which it has in the first; and it is likely after a little reflection he would answer, The words mean 'he that has ears to hear, let him use them for that purpose—let him *attend*.' Again, he meets with the following phrase in John x. 3. και τα προβατα τῆς φωνῆς αυτοῦ ακουει, and knowing the literal meaning of the word, he perceives without difficulty that its true sense here is to 'obey.'

In the same Evangelist, iii. 31, he reads ὁ ων εκ τῆς γῆς, εκ τῆς γῆς εστι, ὁ εκ τοῦ ουρανοῦ ερχομενος, επανω παντων εστι. The Tyro wants to know the exact signification of γῆ in this passage, and he finds it thus explained in his lexicon—γῆ contraction of γεα from γαω, I produce, *that which produces all things, the mother of all*, soil,—the earth, opposed to ουρανος—earth, opposed to θαλασσα;—land, shore,—earth, opposed to sky, ground,—earth, *when made to produce, that is, when cultivated*, a country, region, the habitable world, *any thing made of earth*, a dead body, Il. ω. 54. Having seen the word thus explained, he would instantly fix on 'earth' as its right sense in the above verse, because it stands in opposition to *heaven;* and, though a novice in Greek, he would be ashamed of himself if he translated the verse thus, as Mr. Hamilton has done, "The being out of the land, is out of the land, and speaks of the land; the coming out of the heaven is above of all."

I will give one example more. The scholar meets in John iv. 16. with these words, λεγει αυτῃ ὁ Ιησους ὑπαγει, φωνησαι τον ανδρα σου, &c. In the lexicon he finds ανηρ thus explained; "a man, opposed to a coward, a hero—a man, opposed to a woman, a male, husband—a man opposed to the Gods, a mortal, mankind, Il. ζ. 146. A person,—one of a whole class, ανηρ δημου, one of the people—a person in manhood opposed to παις." On viewing this interpretation he instantly fixes on 'husband' as the appropriate sense in this passage, because he here sees it coupled with a woman; and without hesitation he would translate it thus, "Jesus saith unto her, withdraw, and call thy husband," which Mr. Hamilton thus burlesques

in what he calls his 'Key,' "The Jesus says to her, lead away, and called thou the man of thee, and came thou hither."

This is a fair representation of a boy who uses a proper lexicon in a proper manner: and what exercise can be more rational, more delightful to a youth, and more conducive to his end as a student of the Greek language? And, let me ask you, Sir, does not the fact stand at the antipodes of the deplorable picture which you have drawn? I will now suppose the Tyro, of whom I speak, to begin Greek, and have, on the above plan, a few chapters in John to learn; while another youth has to learn the same chapters from the common version, or, if you think it more rational, from the jargon which Mr. Hamilton calls his 'Key.' The Hamiltonian disciple, on reaching the end of the assigned chapters, will not be able to know one word distinctly, or to account for it correctly. I say this for two reasons; because each noun is not traced to its nominative, nor each verb to the present tense, and there associated in his mind with its peculiar signification; and because he views the words under different terminations, amalgamated with the context. Besides, his object is expedition, and wishing to save time and trouble, he learns his lesson *superficially;* and if he may be said to know the words, he knows them only so far as he recollects the drift of the whole: and as the whole cannot be long retained, the meaning of every term is effaced with it. In the mean time every faculty is dormant, excepting the memory; no rule of syntax, no idiom or peculiarity of construction, no principle explaining the cause of the difference in the arrangement of the two languages is suggested, during his progress, though calculated, and highly necessary, to awaken his understanding, his imagination, and his judgement.

Turn next your attention to him who learns Greek by the assistance of a lexicon and an able teacher. On having finished his task, he has ascertained the sense of each word singly, and that at the root. The trouble he has been at in acquiring this meaning makes him *value* it; and he stores it in his mind as a small piece of silver in his purse; and being aware that time, like a thief, may steal it, he will occasionally see if it be still in his possession. Besides, during his progress through these chapters, he has seen illustrated many rules of syntax; has acquired many principles of extensive application; has learnt in some instances the laws by

which the Greek words are arranged in a sentence; in an especial manner he is made to observe the transition in the meaning of a word, and to determine the art of fixing the true sense by the context. In this way, his faculties have all been employed as well as his recollection. Thus, at the close of a few chapters, he feels himself a little critic, with powers able to master the noblest of all languages. In the prospect of success his mind shoots forth like the tendrils of the vine in spring, and in the course of a few months it swells and ripens with clusters of delicious fruit, like the same vine in autumn. Finally, with a little assistance from an able teacher, he is made to understand the *cause* of ramification in the import of words; and thus he forms an early acquaintance with the *Association of Ideas*, the great law which regulates the intellectual and moral world. By such means the little urchin is preparing, even at this early stage, to climb up the shoulders of Locke, Hartley, and Priestley, and contemplate the human mind reflected in the structure of language as in a mirror.

But the youth, you will say, who learns by a literal version, dispatches the same task sooner, and thus saves time. To a person who learns merely to remember, and that for a short period, the whole time so spent is lost; while he who takes time to do his task, saves time in the end a hundred fold. Whoever looks to eminence in any attainment, must consider not how *much* he attains in a given period, but how *well* he attains it. Improvement and accuracy are acquired by repeated efforts to do the same thing better and better: facility and dispatch follow with practice; and it is the habits which a youth forms over his lessons, and not the lessons themselves, which sooner or later will be forgotten, that in the end can give him success and pre-eminence.

A considerable portion of your article consists of vague declamation against the absurdity of making the acquisition of language tedious and digusting. Your arguments, Sir, have weight only when they are turned against yourself and Mr. Hamilton. Who renders the acquisition of language tedious and disgusting? the rational teacher who takes pains to enlighten the understanding of his pupils; who by the assistance of analogy and general principles calls forth all his faculties to the aid of memory,—or the man who exercises his memory at the expense of every other faculty? The terms of an unknown tongue, however polished, appear bar-

barous, and are difficult to be remembered by a novice; and the exertion of the retentive faculty in mastering them is a painful drudgery. The scholar so occupied is an unwilling slave; he labours, not because it is his delight, but because as a slave he is obliged to labour; and when he accomplishes his task, he no more comprehends its rationale, than the menial scribe does the legal document given him to copy.

A sensible master will indeed be careful not to throw any unnecessary impediments in the way of his scholars; but he will not be so preposterous as to attempt to make it a *level lawn**. A moderate exertion is as necessary to the vigour and expansion of the mind, as of the body. The Sovereign of Nature has made it one of his established laws, that labour† should be the price paid for excellence in every department; and that nothing truly valuable should be attainable without it. A capacity to labour is requisite to fix attention, to form habits of industry and perseverance, and finally to inspire resolution and a spirit of enterprize; and we all know that the pleasure of success is always in proportion to the difficulty surmounted in the pursuit. A lad, to whom strict and energetic discipline has imparted these features of character, is sure of an honourable and distinguished rank in the scale of society, when grown to manhood and engaged in the duties of life.

You seem to think that to know a language, a person needs only to learn its words:—this is a capital error. The vulgar know the common English words, and are able to speak them; yet they know not the principles of the English, much less those of Universal, Grammar; less still do they comprehend the theory of

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* Milton had a juster idea of the nature of the path which the learner has to climb: his words in a well known passage are; "I shall straight conduct you to a hill side, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education: *laborious indeed at first ascent*, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospects, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming." I cite this delightful passage, because Milton has copied the idea of it from Hesiod, in verses quoted by Xenophon in his Memoirs of Socrates, and by Aristotle in his Morals.

† Ουδεν, ανευ καματου τελει ανδρασιν συπιτες εργον.—PHOCYLIDES.
Εν μυριοις τα καλα γιγνεται πονοις.—MENANDER.
Nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus.—HORACE.
Pater ipse—haud *facilem* esse viam voluit.—VIRGIL.

speech in general, or the great law of association which regulates it. The reason is that they have learnt it mechanically, having imbibed the familiar use of it like their mother's milk, by daily practice, without the benefit of systematic instruction. He who studies the learned languages on the Hamiltonian plan, studies them precisely on the same plan with the vulgar, excepting that he learns them memoriter by reading literal translations, and the illiterate memoriter by hearing others. Why thus waste the delightful season of youth with fruitless learning, when that season may be devoted to pursuits that are really useful? Greek and Latin are no longer spoken or written. With one-twentieth part of the trouble boys could be taught the peculiar structure and grammatical use of their own tongue.

On the other hand, let us compare an accomplished scholar who has studied the learned languages in a proper manner with one of the illiterate multitude; and his superiority appears most striking. And to what cause is this superiority to be ascribed? The Greek and Latin tongues are of such a structure, and contain such rich treasures of knowledge, that they are finely adapted to call forth the powers of the mind: for they furnish the student with opportunities to analyse his ideas, and to discover their elements, their combination and growth. They exhibit to him scattered tribes of words, like scattered branches springing from one common stem; and thus make him sensible of the benefit of analogy and classification. They give frequent examples which show the necessity of observing minute differences between things apparently alike, and thereby exercise his judgement and discrimination; and which, on the other hand, unfold resemblances unobserved by others, between objects the most dissimilar, and by that means widen the range of his imagination. They spread before him the finest models of composition, which serve to form his taste. These compositions abound with allusions copied from material objects, and couched under figurative language, on which when detected, his fancy may feed as a bee on the choicest flowers. The employment of the memory in storing up masses of literature of this kind, is at once edifying and delightful; and thus the discipline, which the study of Latin and Greek supplies, is complete. The chief object of this discipline is the developement of mind in the learner; and it is clear that that end is most effectually answered, not by what is done for him in a literal version, but what general rules and habits of analysis enable

him to do for himself. This maxim is urged by Dr. Bell, supported by the high authority of Quintilian, which you thought proper thus to deride. "There is a mighty foolish apophthegm of Dr. Bell's,—that it is not what is done for a boy that is of importance, but what a boy does for himself." By this he means that, if a boy learn arithmetic, it is not the sum that is made for him, but the sum that he has made himself—or if he learn Latin, it is not the piece that is translated for him, but the piece that he has himself translated,—that contributes to his improvement. Your comment is; "This is just as wise as to say, that it is not the breeches which are made for a boy that cover his nakedness, but the breeches that he makes for himself." This might pass as a flash of wit at a convivial board; but it is sadly misplaced, when used as an argument on a subject of grave importance to the rising generation.

The use of translations is not a new question: it has been discussed and decided a century ago; and experience since has justified the decision given against it, as not only fruitless, but pernicious. The nature of the case indeed, as well as the authority of the most competent judges justify me in asserting, that it is impossible to arrive at the knowledge of the Classical languages through the medium of translations, whether free or literal. They may indeed be occasionally *consulted as helps*; and great helps they will prove, if judiciously used; but solely to depend upon a version in reading an original author, is the surest way to render a promising youth an idler and a dunce. The injury done to his talents is not confined to the school or the college. His character is then formed; and when he engages in the business of life, he will inevitably display the same imbecility of mind, the same propensity to acquiesce in superficial views of things, the same reluctance to depend on his own exertions in trying emergencies, and finally, the same disposition to expect success, only from the concurrence of others, which had been his constant practice during the period of his education.

But you will say that Mr. Hamilton has lately made the experiment, and proved the contrary. A class of boys have been under his instruction for four months: after that period they were examined; candid and enlightened judges were present at the examination,—and they expressed themselves satisfied. The truth of this statement may be admitted; yet I pronounce with confidence the whole affair to be a farce and a humbug. Mr. Hamilton at

first artfully leaves behind certain elementary knowledge, which would retard his pupils for a considerable time, and hurries them forward, enabling them to construe by his assistance what other boys construe by the assistance of principles which it had cost them much trouble and a long time to learn. This necessarily gives them the appearance of accelerated improvement; but it soon becomes stationary, through the want of a grammar previously learnt; and must retrograde, as soon as they return to it. This statement developes the mystery—a mystery, which like every other sifted to the bottom, proves a cheat: and the case of the man who should pretend to teach reading without a previous knowledge of the alphabet, is a complete illustration of it.

My age and circumstances raise me above competition with Mr. Hamilton, yet I cherish a project by which I hope to be more useful than I have hitherto been in the business of education, and prevent for the future the public from being misled by interested pretenders.

I happened in the beginning of last January to attend a lecture given by a *Mr. Hall* on a new method of teaching Latin. The audience were most respectable, a number of gentlemen from the country engaged in the business of education being then in town. Mr. Hall gave his system the pompous name of *Intellectual;* and at the commencement cautioned his hearers against confounding it with that of any other, because it was peculiarly his *own*. The lecturer did not want talents nor yet effrontery,—wanted nothing but honesty; for the system which he called his own was taken altogether from a little work for schools, which I have lately published under the title of ANALOGIÆ LATINÆ. The object of this work is to unfold the analogies by which the great body of words in Latin are derived from a comparatively few primitive terms. The introduction contains a summary of those analogies; and the whole of the language is laid out as in a map, within the compass of thirty duodecimo pages. A vocabulary is then constructed on principles contained in the introduction, comprehending the common words of the language with the derived English term opposite the original. The learner will hence be enabled to amass in his mind many thousand words from a comparatively few stems. He will moreover perceive the vast importance of the Latin to one who studies the English language, whole

classes of its terms being thence derived, and the primary signification of each being entirely dependent on its original composition. These principles and none besides formed the boasted system of Mr. Hall.

I have long since formed into something like a system, the method which appears to be the best calculated to impart a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues in the least possible time, and I have seen its utility evinced in the progress of several individuals whom I occasionally assisted. Of late I have instructed a few young men of talents, with a view to give it a more general and permanent effect.—I propose, then, to form a small establishment in some favourable situation, which one or more of these gentlemen shall conduct under my direction and occasional assistance; that a class of boys of respectable parents shall commence the study of Latin; that six months after the commencement they shall be publicly examined in the Latin tongue, and at the end of twelve months in both Latin and Greek. I will not say, lest I appear to exaggerate, what I expect their improvement to be; but most certainly it will place in an advantageous light the capabilities of the youthful mind, under a well formed plan of instruction, and serve to sweep away the fooleries which superficial individuals hold forth to the world as improved systems of their own. I am aware of the difficulty and perhaps the impracticability for an individual to make an experiment of this sort even on a small scale; I therefore invite gentlemen of respectability who have children, and philanthropists who feel interested in the improvement of the rising generation, to bestow their attention on this most important subject, and assist me with their advice and influence. I shall require nothing but a reasonable compensation to the persons who undertake the labour of instruction. Such portions of time as my studies can spare, or my health allow, being at the service of the Public. If I so far succeed as to execute my object for one twelve months, I fondly hope, that the suffrage of men of eminence, who shall witness its effects, will enable me to introduce an improved plan of teaching the Classical languages, which may serve as a model to schools and other similar Institutions.

I am Sir, yours &c.

J. JONES.

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SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

MR M'CULLOCH'S PRINCIPLES

OF

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

By MORDECAI MULLION,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO CHRISTOPHER NORTH.

O, thou hast damnable Iteration.

SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY IV.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH: AND
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MDCCCXXVI.

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SOME ILLUSTRATIONS,

&c.

THE science of Political Economy has been the subject of frequent inquiry and discussion in the Edinburgh Review from its very commencement, and the character of that Journal has perhaps depended as much on the supposed excellence of such essays, as upon either its criticism, its metaphysics, or its general literature. Many of the papers in its earlier numbers, on questions of Political Economy, were known to be from the pen of Mr Horner, a man of strong intellect, great industry, extensive knowledge, and felicitous power of expression. The country had just confidence in his talents and integrity; and the Journal, of which he was a principal pillar, could not but stand high in the estimation of all men, of whatever party, who knew how to estimate the value of the matured opinions of an upright and enlightened statesman. Mr Horner's death was a severe loss to the country, and it was especially to be lamented that he died before the great discoveries of Ricardo. Had he lived to be thoroughly initiated into them, there can be no doubt that he would have been instrumental in extending the boundaries of the science. There were other writers in the Edinburgh Review on the same subjects (the Editor himself, and Mr Brougham among the number) not inferior in talent to Mr Horner; and, since his lamented death, his place has been occasionally supplied, we believe, by men who have justly gained, by their works, a distinguished reputation. For the last seven or eight

years, however, the chief writer on Political Economy in the Edinburgh Review has been Mr M'Culloch; and, without wishing to underrate his abilities, we may say that he is certainly a somewhat sorry substitute for the distinguished writers in the early numbers.

Notwithstanding the incessant outcry kept up about the study of Political Economy, it is certain that many of the writings of our modern wiseacres on that science are either never read at all, or very speedily forgotten. This is, as we will soon shew, more especially the case with Mr M'Culloch. To hear his puny underlings prating in his praise, you would imagine him to be a second Smith or Ricardo. People, who know nothing whatever about the matter, take it for granted that he has thrown light on the science,—whereas, were all Mr M'Culloch's various publications, or reprints, collected together, they might be compressed, by a skilful and honest redacteur, into the bulk of one moderate sized volume, sold for 10s. 6d. Of that volume nine-tenths would belong to Smith, Ricardo, and other writers, the remaining tenth perhaps to Mr M'Culloch; and, with this small stock, he has managed to gain the reputation, with some silly people, of being among the greatest of all the modern Economists. This miserable delusion can only be dispelled by perusing Mr M'Culloch's writings, which remain at this hour unread by nineteen out of twenty of his eulogisers. If, indeed, his admirers have read his writings, then all that he has said has gone in at one ear and out at the other; for they are all unaware of this ludicrous fact, that he has been employed for eight years and upwards in practising, with all imaginary *sang froid*, upon their credulity. These may seem hard words, but they will be borne out to the letter by the following exposé.

There are some things about Mr M'Culloch's conduct, as a contributor to the Edinburgh Review, which appear to us more especially to require explanation. Mr Jeffrey, we presume, considers his Journal to possess a character for some originality; but we are greatly mistaken if its originality, in as far as Mr M'Culloch's contributions are concerned, be not of a kind that the Editor would not be, by any means, anxious to see established.

During the eight years that Mr M'Culloch has been a contributor to that work, he has acted upon a system never before recognized as legitimate, either in it or in any other journal,—a system in itself at once ludicrous and unprincipled. The Editor of the Edinburgh Review pledges himself that every article in every number shall, in expression at least, be mainly different from all its predecessors. He also pledges himself that the articles in his Journal shall substantially be written for it, and not cobbled up articles out of other publications. That surely is not to take very high ground; for if Mr Jeffrey were to main-

tain that he has a right to reprint, if he chooses, in one number, the article which had appeared in another, without saying a word about it, he would be flying in the face of all honest and sensible men; and, if he were to maintain that he has a right to insert cobbled articles if he chooses, and as often as he chooses, then he degrades his Journal to the level of a mere compilation. But there can be no doubt that Mr Jeffrey would laugh to scorn both suppositions; and, if so, he must henceforth have a queer opinion of his friend Mr M'Culloch. That person has elevated himself, in the Edinburgh Review, to a species of "provin-"cial preferment," which Mr Jeffrey, we think, must be anxious to see changed for some preferment in the metropolis of the Island.

In his review of Mr M'Culloch's Discourse on the Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance of Political Economy, Mr Jeffrey shews that he is not at all aware of the nature of the plan on which that person constructs his works. "Mr M'Culloch," he says, "has given so luminous a summary of these doctrines, (of wages and population,) that we think it our duty, at the risk of some apparent repetition, to lay his edition of it also before our readers." Mr Jeffrey's own edition was a thousand times better than that which, at the risk of some repetition, he lays before his readers. But, in his simplicity, he was neither aware of the sort of repetition committed—nor that Mr M'Culloch had been long in the habit, in the Edinburgh Review, and all other places, of giving two, three, four, five, and six editions of all his doctrines. See how absurd part of Mr Jeffrey's quotation from the Discourse looks beside its brother of the Principles of Political Economy!

Passage from MR M'CULLOCH'S Discourse, quoted by MR JEFFREY in EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXV. September 1825, p. 14.

"From the remotest antiquity down to our own times, it had been the uniform policy of legislators to give an artificial stimulus to population, by encouraging early marriages, and bestowing rewards on those who had reared the greatest number of children. But the doctrines of Mr Malthus show the mischievous nature of all interference with the natural progress of population, and have in this respect effected a complete change in the public opinion. They have shown, that every increase in the numbers of the people, occasioned by artificial expedients, and which is not either preceded or accompanied by a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence, can be productive only of misery, or of in-

Passage from MR M'CULLOCH'S Principles of POLITICAL ECONOMY, 8vo., Edinburgh 1825, pp. 193 and 194, quoted by MORDECAI MULLION.

"From the remotest antiquity down to our own times, it had been the uniform policy of legislators to give an artificial stimulus to population, by encouraging early marriages, and bestowing rewards on those who had reared the greatest number of children. But the researches of Mr Malthus, who, though not the original discoverer of the principle of population, was certainly the first to establish it on a secure foundation, have shown the mischievous nature of all such interference. They have shown, that every increase in the numbers of the people, occasioned by artificial expedients, and which is not either preceded or accompanied by a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence, can be productive

Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxv.	Political Economy, p. 193, 194.
creased mortality;—that the difficulty never is to bring human beings into the world, but to feed, clothe, and educate them when there,—and that, so far from attempting to strengthen the principal of increase, we should invariably endeavour to control and regulate it."	only of misery, or of increased mortality;—that the difficulty is never to bring human beings into the world, but to feed, clothe, and educate them when there;—that mankind *do* everywhere increase their numbers, till their multiplication is restrained by the difficulty of providing subsistence, and the consequent poverty of some part of the society;—and that, consequently, instead of attempting to strengthen the principle of increase, we should invariably endeavour to control and regulate it."

Mr Jeffrey has shown, in his review of Mr M'Culloch's Discourse, that he knows nothing of its Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance. He supposes it to be a new Discourse, and never for a moment suspects, that it is the same old Discourse that, years before, took up its snug, undisturbed, and, as it would seem, unknown residence, within the boards of the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica. How should Mr Jeffrey know a fact that Mr M'Culloch had so ingeniously concealed? With what an air of originality did the Ricardo Lecturer mouth and drawl out, in his coarse and vulgar style, the said stale harangue, in hearing of a gaping London audience, who, one and all of them, imagined themselves listening to wisdom that had never thentofore been heard issuing from human lips! No doubt the native charms of Mr M'Culloch's mien and elocution beautifully set off the solid merits of the old, or at least middle-aged Discourse! But when Mr M'Culloch gave the Discourse to an admiring world, why did he not, among other matters in the advertisement prefixed to it, just drop a little hint, that, with the exception of a few illustrations, it was all to be found *verbatim* in the said Supplement? Was it because Mr M'Culloch had forgotten so very trifling a circumstance—or that he remembered it, but thought it not worth mentioning—or that he had a disinterested delight in deception—or that he wished to make a little money out of the simpletons who might be willing to give five shillings and sixpence for an old Discourse which his conduct guaranteed to be a new one?

But we wish to say a few words respecting some other kindred traits of conduct in Mr M'Culloch, as Contributor to the Edinburgh Review. We have been a subscriber to that work during the period of Mr M'Culloch's delinquency, and on that ground we are entitled to whisper our complaints in the ear of the Editor, and to shout our warnings in the ear of the Public. We therefore denounce Mr M'Culloch as an impostor. And the first proof we bring of his imposture is—that, IN THE LAST NUMBER OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, HE

HAS PALMED OFF AS AN ORIGINAL ARTICLE ON MR JACOB'S REPORT, AN ESSAY, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, THAT APPEARED IN A FORMER NUMBER ON A LETTER OF MR WHITMORE.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 555-6-7-8.

"But while the abolition of the Corn laws would be productive of no material injury to the farmers and landlords, by reducing the average price of raw produce, it would, by giving greater steadiness to prices, be no less advantageous to them than to the other classes of the community. Were the freedom of the corn trade established, our prices would be governed by the *average* price of Europe: And it is plain, inasmuch as the weather that is unfavourable to the crops raised in a district having a particular soil or climate, is most commonly favourable to those raised in districts having a different soil or climate, that the *average* price of a great Continent, or rather of the whole Commercial world, must necessarily be incomparably more steady than that of a single kingdom. Holland, during the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed on imported corn; and it is an undoubted fact, that prices in Amsterdam were always comparatively moderate, and fluctuated less than in any other market of Europe. The experience, in a word, of all ages and nations proves, beyond all question, that it is freedom, and freedom only, that can put an effectual stop to those sudden and excessive fluctuations in the price of corn which are so extremely ruinous to all classes of the community, but most of all to the farmer. When a comparatively rich and highly populous country like England excludes foreign produce from her markets, she is compelled to resort to very inferior soils for supplies of food. In consequence, her average prices are raised far above the common level of surrounding countries; and therefore, when an unusually luxuriant crop occurs, no relief being obtained from exportation, the whole surplus produce is thrown on her own markets, and a ruinous depression of price necessarily and unavoidably follows. The avowed object of the Corn law of 1815, which prevented all importation of foreign wheat for home consumption until the home price rose to 80s., was to keep the price steadily up to that level. But the slightest acquaintance with the most

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXIV October 1824, pp. 64, 65, 66.

"But if the abolition of the Corn-laws would not be injurious to the farmers or landlords, by causing a farther reduction of price, it would, in other respects, be singularly advantageous to them. Were the freedom of the corn trade established, it is plain that our prices would be governed by the *average* price of Europe, which, inasmuch as the weather that is unfavourable to one country is generally favourable to another, is comparatively steady. As illustrative of this principle, we may observe, that Holland, during the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed on imported corn; and it is an undoubted fact that prices in Amsterdam were always comparatively moderate, and that they varied less than any other market of Europe. It is freedom, and freedom only, that can put an effectual stop to those sudden and excessive fluctuations in the price of corn, which are so extremely ruinous to all classes of the community, but most of all to the farmer. When a comparatively rich and highly populous country like England, excludes foreign produce from her markets, she is compelled to resort to very inferior soils to obtain supplies of food. In consequence, her average prices are raised far above the common level of surrounding countries; and therefore, when an unusually luxuriant crop occurs, no relief being obtained from exportation, the whole surplus produce is thrown on her own markets, and a ruinous depression of price necessarily and unavoidably follows. The avowed object of the Corn law of 1815, which prevented all importation of foreign wheat for home consumption until the home price rose to 80s., was to keep the price steadily up to that level. But the slightest acquaintance with the most obvious principles, would have taught the framers of this act that it would be quite ineffectual to its object. By preventing importation, except in years when the home crops are deficient, we necessarily prevent the establishment of any regular and systematic intercourse with foreign countries. Since 1815, no Polish or American cultivator has ever been able to calculate on

obvious principles, would have taught the framers of this act that it could never attain that object. By preventing importation, except in years when the home crops are deficient, we necessarily prevent the establishment of any regular and systematic intercourse with foreign countries. Since 1815, no Polish or American cultivator has ever been able to calculate on a demand from England; In consequence, no corn has been raised in these countries for our markets; and when our crops have been deficient, the inadequacy of the foreign supplies has allowed our prices to rise to an exorbitant height. Had the corn trade been free, the calamitous harvest of 1816, for examples would have been met by abundant importations, the average price in April that year being 65s. 5d.; but it was not ascertained that the ports would open at 80s. till the 15th of November, *when the season was too far advanced to admit of importation from the great corn ports of Europe*; and in consequence, before the spring shipments could arrive, the average price of wheat had risen to 105s. 11d., being little short of double its price only twelve months before! Owing partly to the unprecedented destruction of agricultural capital that had taken place during the low prices of 1814, 1815, and 1816, partly to deficient harvests, and, more than all, to the restraints on importation, the prices of 1817, 1818, and 1819, were oppressively high. But mark the effects of this increase of price. It led the farmers to suppose that the Corn law was at length beginning to have the effects its supporters had anticipated from it; their drooping spirits were in consequence revived; fresh capital was applied to the land; and this increase of tillage, conspiring with favourable seasons, again sunk prices to such a degree, that they fell in October 1822 so low as 38s. 1d., the average of that year being only 43s. 5d.!

"It is thus that the restrictive system is productive of double mischief. By preventing importation, it aggravates all the evils of scarcity when the home crops are deficient; while, by forcing the cultivation of poor soils, and raising average prices, it prevents exportation in a year of unusual plenty, and renders the bounty of Providence a curse to the farmer! So long as we support the existing Corn laws, we shall have the same incessant alternation of ruinously low and oppres-

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sively high prices which we have experienced since 1815. At one time our ears will be stunned with the complaints of the agriculturists; and when these have subsided, they will be assailed with the louder and more piercing and menacing cries of the manufacturing population—with the noise of radical rebellions, and fresh suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act! The low prices of the restrictive system cannot be otherwise than ephemeral — *opulentia mox paritura egestatem*: for these low prices, by destroying agricultural capital, and driving bad land out of cultivation, necessarily diminish the supply, and occasion an unmeasured increase of price on the occurrence of the first unfavourable harvest. But it is material to observe, that while this increase of price is fatal to the great mass of the consumers, it is of no real advantage to the agriculturists; for, by attracting additional capital to the soil, and extending cultivation, the supply is again increased; and, instead of their extravagant expectations being realized, the first luxuriant harvest again plunges them into the abyss of poverty and misery! Such is the practical and real operation of this monstrous system. Alternately productive of famine and excess, it is equally ruinous to the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial classes; and, if not put down, it will most probably end by destroying the capital of the country, and by sinking all classes, high as well as low, below the level of what was originally lowest."

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There is a screed with a vengeance! Mr Whitmore and Mr Jacob must be alike astonished to find their works, the one his Letter, and the other his Report, converted by Professor M'Culloch into text-books, from which he delivers, once in two years, a lecture to the people of Britain on the best means of subsistence. Yet both gentlemen must be rather mortified by being thus made a bear's paw. Their situation is ridiculous. It is not improbable that Mr Whitmore (nevertheless a very amiable and intelligent person) may have been pleased, in October 1824, to be dandled and growled over, like a pretty pet, by the sour and suspicious animal; but what must be his feelings now, when he sees Ursa, unknown to his usually vigilant keeper, broken loose from his den, and, with the chain dangling from his neck, attempting the self-same unwieldy gambols with Mr Jacob on his return from the North of Europe! Although all the rest of the

world may have done so, Mr Whitmore cannot surely have forgotten those tender but rough endearments of which he was the unreluctant victim only two short years ago, and must regard Mr Jacob with a jealous eye, while the wary Reporter will decline the hug, bethinking him of the caprices of his caresser.

We are far from meaning any unnecessary disrespect to Mr M'Culloch in thus speaking of him figuratively as a bear. A bear, although apt to get "surlier as the storms increase," is an honest brute; nor, indeed, if suffered to lick his paws in peace, at all inclined to be quarrelsome. The comparison, therefore, is, on the whole, courteous, conciliating and complimentary; and we are sorry not to be able, conscientiously, to carry it any farther, for Mr M'Culloch suddenly lays aside the bear, and assumes the fox; and in proof of the versatility of his talents, he plays the part of Reynard as naturally, and quite as much to the life as that of Bruin. Tod Lowrie is partial to cover, the more broken and brambly the better—so is Mr M'Culloch. Tod Lowrie, on being made to break cover, generally runs right on-end—so does Mr M'Culloch. But Tod Lowrie occasionally makes a double—so does Mr M'Culloch; and Tod Lowrie leaves a strong scent behind him, by which the sagacious pursuer can smell out his feints and doubles,—and so does Mr M'Culloch. Now, in the present chace, we are that sagacious pursuer, and shall run in upon Mr M'Culloch, before he, Tod Lowrie, can take to earth.

At the end of the dreary paragraph quoted above, Mr M'Culloch plays one of the favourite tricks of Reynard the fox, and skirting Mr Whitmore's preserves, deviates a few fields towards those of Mr Jacob. In other words, in his article on Mr Jacob, he introduces nine entire pages, (of which more anon) not to be found in his article on Mr Whitmore,—and we were suddenly at fault. No ways disheartened, however,—as the scent lay strong we kept close on his heels, and were rewarded as we expected, with a "view hollo."

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 348, 349.

"The farmers have still less reason than the landlords to support the existing system; and it is indeed quite apparent, that if they had a clear perception of their own interest, they would join in petitioning for its abolition. Suppose it were possible to maintain the home prices steady at about 80s., still it is easy to see, that it would be infinitely better for the farmers were they to be allowed to settle at the fair and natural level of 50s or 55s. If prices become stationary at the lower limit of 50s. or 55s., the rent, wages of labour, and other outgoings

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, pp. 66, 67.

"It is much worse and absurd to suppose that fluctuation of price can be avoided so long as the restrictive system is maintained. But suppose it could,—suppose that, by excluding foreign corn when the home price is below a certain limit, and burning the surplus produce in plentiful years—for it would require some such expedient—it were possible to maintain the home prices steadily at about 80s., still it is easy to see that it would be infinitely better for the farmers were they to be allowed to settle at the fair and natural level of 55s. or 60s. If prices

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of the farmer, will all be proportionally adjusted; if they are raised to the higher limit of 80s., rent, wages, &c. will sustain a corresponding increase. It is impossible, however, as it has been repeatedly demonstrated, to raise wages, without *reducing profits*; so that it is unquestionably true, that instead of high prices being really advantageous to the farmer, they are distinctly and completely the reverse. The object of the farmer, as of all other producers, must always be to derive the greatest possible profit from his capital; and it is absolutely certain that profits invariably fall as prices rise, and rise as prices fall. The price of wheat in Illinois and Indiana does not amount to one-third of its price in England; and yet an Illinois or Indiana farmer, with a capital of L.1000, would derive as much profit from it as an English farmer would derive from a capital of L.3000, or L.4000. It appears, therefore, that the real and permanent interests of the farmers and consumers are precisely the same; and that a permanently high price of produce, supposing it could be maintained, would not be less injurious to the one class than the other."

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become stationary at the lower limit of 55s. or 60s., the rent, wages of labour, and other outgoings of the farmer, will all be proportionally adjusted: If they are raised to the higher limit of 80s. rent, wages, &c. will sustain a corresponding increase. It is impossible, however, as we have repeatedly demonstrated, to raise wages without *reducing profits*; so that it is unquestionably true, that instead of high prices being really advantageous to the farmer, they are distinctly and completely the reverse. The object of the farmer, as of all other producers, must always be to derive the greatest possible profit from his capital; and it is absolutely certain that profits invariably fall as prices rise, and rise as prices fall. The price of wheat in Illinois and Indiana does not amount to one-third of its price in England; and yet an Illinois or Indiana farmer, with a capital of L.1000, would derive as much profit from it as an English farmer would derive from a capital of L.3000, or L.4000. It appears, therefore, that the real and permanent interests of the farmers and consumers are precisely the same; and that a permanently high price, supposing it could be maintained, would not be less injurious to the one class than the other."

Mr M'Culloch, *alias* Tod Lowrie, finding his pursuer at his brush, makes another double even of a more cunning kind than the preceding; and leaping upon a thickset hedge after his kind, hopes thus to escape for another day's run. But it is of the very nature of hope to be fallacious,—for "Tallyho—the fox!"

EDINBURGH REVIEW, N LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp, 34, 346.

"But instead of gaining by it, we are most firmly persuaded that this system is no less hostile to their *real and lasting interests* than to those of the rest of the community. *Provided prices could be kept steady*, they would certainly gain for a while the advantage we have supposed. But this is plainly an impossible condition: Prices can never be steady under this system; and we are quite sure, that every landlord who will dispassionately consider the subject, must admit, that it would be more for his interest to be secured in the regular payment of a somewhat lower average amount of rent, than to be perpetually exposed, as he must be during the continuance of the restrictive system, to the non-payment of the high rents that may be promised him in high-

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, p. 67.

"It is just as idle to suppose that the monopoly system can be of any *real* advantage to the landlords. There can be no doubt that it would be much better for them to be secured in the regular payment of somewhat lower rents, than to be perpetually exposed, as they must be, during the continuance of the restrictive system, to the non-payment of the higher rents that may be promised them in high-priced years. It is, moreover, the extreme of folly to suppose, that a system, which is so deeply injurious to the other classes of the community, can be really beneficial to the landlords. Whatever immediate advantage they may derive from it, can only be fleeting and illusory, inasmuch as it must be purchased at the expense of

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priced years. It is, moreover, in every point of view, the extreme of folly to suppose, that a system, which is so essentially injurious to the other classes of the community, can be really beneficial to those who have so deep an interest in the public prosperity as the landlords. Whatever advantage they may derive from it, can only be fleeting and illusory: for it must of necessity be purchased at the expense of those with whom their own interests are inseparably and indissolubly connected. If prices were steady, the landlord's rents would also be steady. His estate would not be ruined by over-cropping, and by the breaking up of old grass land and meadows in high-priced years; nor would it be thrown on his hands, without the possibility of letting it, when prices sink below the cost of production. Instead of being deluded by expectations of augmented revenue, which, so long as the present system lasts, can never be realized for four years in succession, he would be able to form a precise notion of the extent of his income and resources, and would be able to proportion his expenditure to his means."

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Can any thing be imagined more utterly ludicrous than this effort to conceal the identity of two such precious paragraphs! We wonder which of the *par nobile fratrum* is Mr M'Culloch's favourite. But indeed he is mistaken in supposing that he is the happy father of twins,—it is the same little, ugly, vulgar, ricketty brat held up in arms, by Mr M'Culloch in the character of dry nurse, to the laughter of the company, at one time in long clothes and a natty cap, at another in shorts and a *daidley*.*

We are at a loss to guess Mr M'Culloch's motive in thus transmogrifying his own offspring,—for behold another of his brats, with the same unmeaning face and identical habiliments, coming in to cry, first before, and secondly after dinner—a true Scotch desert!

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 346, 347.

"But it is a mistake to suppose that the abolition of the restrictions on importation would be merely innoxious to the landlords. The truth is, that it would be greatly and signally beneficial to them. Not only would the landlords gain by the general improvement that would infallibly result from the freedom of the corn trade, but they would also be relieved from a burden, which, at this

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, pp. 68, 69.

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* See Dr Jamieson's

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moment, presses heavily on their estates, and threatens, at no distant period, to absorb the whole of their rents. It is almost unnecessary to say, that we allude to the Poor rates. Were it not for the extreme variations in the price of corn, the payments to able-bodied labourers, which constitute full three-fourths of the total assessment, might be entirely dispensed with. But so long as we continue to act on a system which necessarily occasions the most tremendous fluctuations of price, it is quite visionary to think of getting rid of this burden. Wages, though they are ultimately regulated by the price of necessaries, do not vary immediately with their variations. Prices, and consequently wages, are reduced by a *succession* of abundant harvests; but wages do not, and cannot, rise the moment the harvest becomes deficient, and prices attain the famine level. And if, under such circumstances, the labourers of a densely peopled country like England, where their condition can never be very prosperous, were not partly provided for by extrinsic assistance, the probability, or rather, we should say, the certainty, is, that rebellion and intestine commotion would ensue, and that the security of property would be completely subverted. Those, therefore, who are really desirous of freeing the country from the great and constantly increasing burden of poor-rates, ought above all to direct their efforts to procure the abolition of those restrictions which, by causing excessive fluctuations in the price of necessaries, expose the poor to misery and famine, and disable them for providing for themselves. Abolish the Corn laws, and the abolition of all rates levied on account of the able-bodied poor may be carried with equal facility and security. But if the landlords will not consent to the establishment of a system of freedom, let them not deceive themselves by supposing that the pressure of the poor-rates will ever be effectually diminished. If they will have monopoly, they must take all its consequences *along* with it: and they must neither murmur nor repine, should every shilling of their rents be ultimately required for the support of workhouses and beggars."

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moment, presses heavily on their estates, and threatens, at no distant period, to absorb the whole of their rents. It is almost unnecessary to say, that we allude to the poor-rates. Were it not for the extreme variations in the price of corn, the payments to able-bodied labourers, which constitute full three-fourths of the total assessment, might be entirely dispensed with. But so long as we continue to act on a system which necessarily occasions the most tremendous fluctuations of price, it is, we are afraid, rather visionary to think of getting rid of this burden. Wages, though they are ultimately regulated by the price of necessaries, do not vary directly and immediately with their variations. Prices, and consequently wages, are reduced by a *succession* of abundant harvests; but wages do not, and cannot rise the moment the harvest becomes deficient, and prices attain the famine level. And if, in such circumstances, the labourers of a densely peopled country like England, where their condition can never be very prosperous, were not partly provided for by extrinsic assistance, the probability, or rather, we should say, the certainty, is, that rebellion and intestine commotion would ensue, and that the security of property would be completely subverted. Those, therefore, who are really desirous of freeing the country from the great and constantly increasing burden of poor-rates, ought above all to direct their efforts to procure the abolition of those restrictions which, by causing excessive fluctuations in the price of necessaries, expose the poor to misery and famine, and disable them for providing for themselves. Abolish the Corn-laws, and the abolition of all rates levied on account of the able-bodied poor will be a measure that may be carried with equal facility and security. But if the landlords will not consent to the establishment of a system of freedom, let them not deceive themselves by supposing that the pressure of the poor-rates will ever be effectually diminished. If they will have monopoly, they must take all its consequences along with it; and they must neither murmur nor repine, should every shilling of their rents be ultimately required for the support of workhouses and beggars."

By this time the Reading Public, good easy soul, who seldom

inspects very narrowly the articles she purchases from a political economist, will be standing with uplifted hands and eyes, wondering, and of her wondering finding no end, at Mr M'Culloch's unexampled effrontery. But as we wish the exposure of the grossest literary fraud ever practised upon her to be complete, we request the worthy woman to recover from her trance, and look over the remainder of the pamphlet. Mr M'Culloch, who is an honest man in as far as he steals from himself, but any thing but an honest man in as far as he palms off upon the subscribers to the Edinburgh Review an old article, already paid for, as a young one, a practice without precedent in any periodical work, and when perpetrated so systematically, enormously, and clandestinely, nothing less nor more than an act of swindling, must not be permitted with impunity to defraud the Reading Public. The old Lady must be put on her guard against him and his tricks, and warned to put on her spectacles before she takes in the next number of the Blue and Yellow. Here he comes:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 349, 350.

"We should never have done were we to attempt to recapitulate the various arguments that might be produced to shew that the abolition of the Corn laws would be equally advantageous to the landlords and farmers as to the other classes, &c. But suppose that we are wrong in this conclusion, and that the landlords and farmers would really suffer considerable injury from the abolition of the Corn laws, still we should not consider it as being on that account a measure the less imperiously demanded by every consideration of sound policy. If the Corn laws be really beneficial to the producers, they must, for the same reason, be really injurious to the consumers. If they enrich the agriculturists, by securing them higher prices than they would obtain under a free system, they must, to the same extent, impoverish the manufacturing and commercial classes, who are compelled to pay these artificially enhanced prices; while, by raising the rate of wages, they must lower the profits of stock, and operate to force capital out of the kingdom. Nothing, indeed, but the extreme importance of the subject could induce us to stop for a single moment to argue with those who suppose that high prices can, under any circumstances, be advantageous to a nation. To facilitate production, and to make commodities cheaper and more easily obtained, are the grand motives which stimulate the inventive pow-

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, pp. 69, 70.

"We have thus, we think, incontrovertibly shown, that the abolition of the Corn-laws would be extremely advantageous both to farmers and landlords. But, supposing we are wrong in this conclusion, and that these classes would really suffer considerable injury, from their abolition, still we should not on that account consider it a measure the less imperiously demanded by every consideration of sound policy. If the Corn-laws be really beneficial to the producers, they must, for the same reason, be really injurious to the consumers. If they enrich the agriculturists by securing them higher prices than they would obtain under a free system, they must, to the same extent, impoverish the manufacturing and commercial classes, who are compelled to pay these artificially enhanced prices; while, by raising the rate of wages, they must lower the profits of stock, and operate to force capital out of the country. Nothing, indeed, but the extreme importance of the subject could induce us to stop for a single moment to argue with those who suppose that high prices can, under any circumstances, be advantageous to a nation. To facilitate production, and to make commodities cheaper and more easily obtained, are the grand motives which stimulate the inventive powers of genius, and which lead to the discovery and improvement of machines, and pro-

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ers of genius, and which lead to the discovery and improvement of machines, and processes for saving labour and diminishing cost: and it is plain that no system of commercial legislation deserves to be supported which does not conspire to promote the same objects. But, instead of promoting, the corn laws openly and violently counteract them. By preventing the importation of corn from the cheapest markets, they raise its price, and force a large proportion of the capital and industry of the country to engage in a comparatively disadvantageous employment. Such a system cannot be maintained without causing immediate injury and ultimate ruin. Instead of being advantageous, high prices are in *every case* distinctly and completely the reverse. The smaller the sacrifice for which any commodity can be obtained, so much the better. When the labour required to produce, or the money required to purchase, a sufficient supply of corn is diminished, it is as clear as the sun at noonday that more labour or money must remain to produce or purchase the other necessaries, conveniencies, or amusements of human life, and that the sum of national wealth and comfort must be proportionally augmented. Those who suppose that a rise of prices can ever be a means of improving the condition of the country, might, with equal reason, suppose that it would be improved by throwing its best soils out of cultivation, and destroying its most powerful machines! The opinions of such persons are not only opposed to the plainest and most obvious principles of economical science, but they are opposed to the obvious suggestions of common sense, and the universal experience of mankind."

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Mr M'Culloch then cuts a little bit of a caper in his article on Mr Whitmore, and at about the same spot of his article on Mr Jacob falls asleep for a few seconds and snores manfully; but starting up, he rubs his eyes, and *ecce homo* with his double:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII.
September 1826, pp. 350, 351.

"In order to simplify the consideration of this great question, we have argued thus far on the *supposition* that there is nothing in the circumstances under

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI.
October 1824, p. 77.

"In order to simplify the consideration of this great question, we have argued thus far on the supposition that the public burdens with which the agriculturists

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which the agriculturists of Great Britain are now placed, or in the public burdens imposed on them, that could unfit them for withstanding the free competition of foreigners, or entitle them, in any view of the matter, to claim that a higher duty than 5s. or 6s. a quarter should be imposed on foreign wheat, and proportionally on other foreign corn when imported. But as this is a point of great practical importance, we shall examine it somewhat in detail."

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of Britain are affected, would not prevent their maintaining a successful competition with foreigners. This, however, has been stoutly denied: and as much stress has been laid on this point in the recent discussions, both in and out of Parliament, we shall now briefly advert to it."

"In simplifying this great question," Mr M'Culloch writes at somewhat greater length in his article on Mr Jacob than in his article on Mr Whitmore. But, in doing so, he "betrays a "new feature" in his character and conduct;—for nearly every word in the first that is not in the second, IS IN ANOTHER ARTICLE IN ANOTHER NUMBER—OR ELSEWHERE! In the article on Mr Jacob he "simplifies the great question" methodically,—treating of tithes, the land-tax, and poor-rates. In the article on Mr Whitmore, he "simplifies the great question" immethodically, lumping them all together in a way sufficient to give a headache to a stot. The swindle, however, although clumsy, is complete.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII.
September 1826, pp. 351, 352,

"It must be remembered, that *all imported corn must be paid for, either directly or indirectly, by the exportation of some species of manufactured goods:* And it is clear, on the first blush of the matter, that the home producers of corn have not the semblance of a claim to a protecting duty on the importation of foreign corn, unless they can show that the taxes or public charges affecting raw produce *exceed* those which fall on manufactured goods. We are no apologists for heavy taxation; but however oppressive it may be—though it were to abstract a fourth or a third part of the income of every individual—still, if it affected them all equally, it would leave the relative values of the commodities produced by them exactly where it found them; and if it did this, it is clear to demonstration, that it could not possibly render any particular class less able than the others to withstand the unfettered competition of foreigners, and could not, therefore, entitle them to a protecting

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI.
October 1824, pp. 71, 72.

"It must be remembered, however, that all foreign corn imported *must be paid for, either directly or indirectly, by the exportation of some species of manufactured goods*; and it is therefore clear, that the home producers of corn have not even the vestige of a claim to a protecting duty on the importation of foreign corn, unless they can show that the tithes, and other taxes falling on raw produce, exceed those which fall on manufactured goods. However oppressive we suppose taxation to be—though it added a hundred or a thousand per cent. to the price of commodities—still, if it affected them all equally, it would leave their relative values exactly where it found them; and if it did this, it is clear to demonstration that it could not possibly render any particular class less able than the others to withstand the unfettered competition of foreigners, and could not, therefore, entitle them to a protecting duty. But if higher duties be laid on a particular class of commodities, the case

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duty. But if higher duties were laid *on a particular class of* commodities, the case would be different. Suppose, for example, that the various duties affecting manufactured commodities amount to only 10, while those affecting the raw produce raised by the agriculturists amount to 20 per cent.; it is obvious, that, in order to maintain the agriculturists in the same situation as the manufacturers, the price of raw produce must rise 10 per cent. higher than it would be, were it not loaded with that excess of duty, &c. In the event, however, of the ports being opened to the importation of all sorts of foreign corn free of duty, the agriculturists would be deprived of the power of limiting the supply of corn, and, consequently, of raising their prices, so as to indemnify them for the excess of burdens by which we suppose them to be affected. The 10 per cent excess of duty affecting corn raised at home, would then really operate as a bounty on the importation of that which was raised abroad; and if it were not defeated by a protecting duty of 10 per cent., the agriculturists would be placed in a relatively disadvantageous position; and such of them as occupied the poorer description of lands would be driven from their business."

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is different. If, for example, while the duty on commodities in general is only 10 per cent., a duty of 20 per cent. were laid on a particular class, their price must rise 10 per cent. higher than the price of the rest, in order to maintain their producers in the same relative situation as before. It is plain, however, that in the event of the ports being opened to the importation of every description of foreign goods free of duty, the producers of the heavily-taxed commodities will be deprived of the means of limiting their supply, and consequently of raising their price, so as to indemnify them for the excess of the tax. The 10 per cent. excess of duty would then really operate as a bounty on the importation of the class of commodities on which it is charged; and if it were not defeated by a protecting duty of 10 per cent., the home producers of that class would be placed in a relatively disadvantageous situation, and would abandon their business."

Passing over a brace of cobbled paragraphs, in which there is not, we believe, a single sentence that is not picked out of some one or other of Mr M'Culloch's own lucubrations, we approach the close of the article;—and here they go, as usual, cheek by jowl:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 355, 356.

"However, we would rather err on the side of too much protection than of too little; and therefore, instead of proposing that an *ad valorem* duty of *one* or *two* per cent.—which latter is certainly all that the agriculturists can justly claim—should be imposed on foreign corn imported, we should not object to its being made as high as *ten* or *twelve* per cent. We have already seen, that the average price at which foreign wheat might be imported into England, in ordinary years, would be from 48s. to

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, pp. 73, 74.

"But we would rather err on the side of too much protection as of too little; and, to put to rest all cavilling on the subject, we should not object, in the event of the ports being thrown open, to an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. being laid on all foreign corn when imported for home consumption. The freedom of the corn trade would, as we have already shown, relieve the landlords of the greater part of the poor-rates, and the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty would be a much greater protection than they

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55s. a quarter; and we would therefore beg to suggest, in order to get rid of the trickery and fraud inseparable from the average system, that the *ad valorem* duty of 10 or 12 per cent should be converted into a fixed duty of 5s. or 6s. a quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion—a power being at the same time granted to the Privy Council to suspend the duty whenever prices in the London market exceed 65s. or 70s. So high a duty would undoubtedly be much too favourable to the landlords. But the vast advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn trade, and the total abolition of all restrictions and fetters on importation, ought to induce the public to waive all objections to its imposition. Its magnitude, too, would take from the landlords every pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, or that their interests had been sacrificed to those of others. If they should object to so reasonable a measure, their motives would be obvious to the whole world. It would immediately be seen that they had resolved to place and maintain *their interests, in direct opposition to those of the community in general;*—that they had determined to purchase a hollow and imaginary advantage, by supporting a system of domestic policy which must at no distant period involve them in that ruin which it will assuredly entail on the country."

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are entitled to on account of the tithe, which is never fully exacted.

We have already seen, that the average price at which foreign wheat might be imported into England in ordinary years, would be from 55s. to 60s. a quarter; and we would therefore propose, in in order to get rid of the trickery and fraud inseparable from the average system, that the *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. should be converted into a fixed duty of 6s. a quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion. So high a duty would undoubtedly be very favourable to the landlords, by securing them against all risk of foreign corn ever being disposed of for less than 60s. But the vast advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn trade, and the total abolition of all restrictions and fetters on importation, should induce the public to waive all objections to its imposition. Its magnitude, too, would take from the landlords every pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, or that their interests had been sacrificed to those of others. If they should object to such a measure, their motives would be obvious to the whole world. It would immediately be seen, that they had resolved to place and maintain *their interests in direct opposition to those of the community in general;*—that they had determined to purchase a hollow and imaginary advantage, by supporting a system of domestic policy which must at no distant period involve them in that ruin it will assuredly entail on the country."

Mr M'Culloch generally concludes his article with an affecting and encouraging address to ministers to do their duty; and we hope they will not turn a deaf ear to the following parallel appeals:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1825, p. 359.

"Mr Huskisson and his colleagues cannot but feel that their commercial system is altogether incomplete, so long as the present Corn Laws are allowed to disgrace the Statute-book:—and they must feel, that they impose a heavy and most oppressive burden on the country, at the same time that they expose the people to the scourge of famine, and deeply en-

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXI. October 1824, p. 78.

"Ministers are most justly entitled to the public thanks for the measures they have already introduced for freeing industry and commerce from the shackles imposed in a less enlightened age; and we trust they will not throw away the opportunity now afforded of completing the system they have so happily begun; but that they will earn for themselves a

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danger the safety and tranquillity of the State. Surely, then, it is not too much to call upon them to act with consistency, firmness, and vigour on this occasion; and to earn for themselves a new and more powerful claim on the gratitude of the country, by ridding it, at once and for ever, of the monstrous and intolerable nuisance of Corn laws.

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new and more powerful claim on the gratitude of the country, by ridding it at once, and for ever, of the monstrous and intolerable nuisance of Corn laws."

Hearts of stone, indeed, must those ministers have who can be insensible to such sound advice, with the fond repetition of disinterested tenderness, so pathetically urged upon them by the Gallovidian sage.

We have now seen that the whole of the article on Mr Whitmore has been lugged in bodily into that on Mr Jacob, and that the two are so far identical. But the latter has still a few pages that are not in the former,—and pray, asks our reader, are they new?—No, as old as the hills. In perusing them we felt the same sort of puzzling dubiety that comes across us when we meet a person in company whose ugly face we fear having seen before;—but when or where we know not,—at church or market, the pit of a theatre, or the top of a coach.

That there could be a single original paragraph in an article otherwise so faithfully reprinted, we felt assured was impossible; and, on turning over the leaves of a few "back numbers," on which we are sorry to say, there had accumulated dust enough for a crop of cresses,—the secret was disclosed,—the puzzle solved—the mystery cleared up—and the cat let out of the bag. The March number, for 1824, opens with an article entitled "Standard of National Prosperity." So tenderly attached is Mr M'Culloch, in whose skull the bump of philoprogenitiveness must be immense, to his economical offspring, that he lives in perpetual terror about their death and burial,—he is miserable when any one of his dear articles is out of his sight. Only two years and a half have elapsed since that one of his numerous and precious progeny was sent out to push his fortune under the auspices of Mr Jeffrey, named "the Standard." But two years and a half are a long time to an anxious father's heart,—and how happy must Mr M'Culloch have been on the brat's return! Reader, respect the tenderest sympathies of our nature, and laugh not, we beseech you, at these columns;

Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxviii. September 1826, pp. 358, 359.

"But there are yet other, and still more cogent reasons than any previously stated, why the Corn laws should be abolished. The sustenance of the people is certainly the very last thing with which a wise and prudent Government would

Edinburgh Review, No. lxxix. March 1824, p. 22.

"But there are other, and still more cogent reasons, why the restrictions on the Corn trade should be put down. They do not merely render industry unproductive, lower the rate of profit, and force capital abroad, but, by raising our average

choose to tamper. We have no hesitation, indeed, in avowing it to be our decided opinion, that it will be found to be impossible to maintain the Corn laws without deeply endangering the public tranquillity and the security of property, NESCIT PLEBS JEJUNA TIMERE. Mobs and popular outrages are the necessary consequence of a dearth of corn. It must be obvious to every one, that were our restrictions and prohibitions abolished, the price of corn in a country, so rich and industrious as England, so well supplied with merchandize suited to the wants and desires of every people, could never rise considerably above the level of the surrounding markets. When, therefore, prices rise above this their natural limit, as they are sure to do under our present system, whenever the home harvest is in any degree deficient, the cause of the high price will be obvious to the whole world. Every one will see that the dearth is not real, but artificial:—that 'it is not by the dispensations of Providence, dispensations 'which it would be unavailing to canvass 'and impious to censure'—but by the perverse regulations of man, that he is oppressed, and his means of existence compromised. These who are prepared to defend such a system, must be prepared to meet the bloodshed and commotion of which it cannot fail to be productive. Is it in the nature of things, that a vast manufacturing and commercial population, like that of England, should continue quietly to submit to a system which narrows the market for their produce, at the same time that it forces them to pay 70s. or 80s., or perhaps 90s. or 100s., for the same quantity of bread they might otherwise obtain for 50s. or 55s.? Sooner or later, this system must be abandoned. But the longer it is maintained, the more will the public mind be alienated from the Legislature, and the more will the spirit of disaffection scatter its seeds and spread its roots throughout the country. The experience of 1817, 1818, and 1819, should not be thrown away. The restriction on importation was the sole cause of the oppressively high prices of these years; and it was these high prices that drove the manufacturing classes to despair—that rendered them the ready dupes of violent and designing persons—and produced those outrages that were productive of so much mischief."

prices so much above the average prices of other countries, they prevent all exportation in years when the harvest happens to be unusually abundant, and consequently occasion such an alternation of high and low prices as is at one time ruinous to the consumers, and at another to the farmers. Certainly, however, no wise government would ever adopt a system which must necessarily occasion great and sudden variations in the price of the chief article of national subsistence, even though, in other respects, it were really advantageous! Such a system must be destructive of the public tranquillity, and must prove an inexhaustible source of tumult and confusion. There is much truth in the verses of Lucan:—

——Summa favoris
Annona momenta trahit.—Namque asserit urbes
Sola fames, emiturque metus, cum segne potentes
Vulgus alunt.—NESCIT PLEBS JEJUNA TIMERE.

"Mobs and popular commotions are in fact the natural and necessary consequences of a dearth of corn. A man who will draw his sword neither for his character, his country, nor his King, becomes as bold as a lion the instant his flesh-pots are endangered. We have no idea, indeed, that it is possible for the Corn laws and the Constitution long to exist together. It must be obvious to every one, that were our restrictions and prohibitions abolished, the price of corn in a country so well supplied with merchandise as England, could never rise considerably above the level of the surrounding markets. When, therefore, the prices rise above this their natural limit, as they are doing at this moment (March 1824,) the cause of the enhancement must be obvious to the whole world. Every one must see, that the high price is not real but artificial:—that 'it is not by the dispensations of Providence—dispensations 'which it would be unavailing to canvass, and impious to censure,'—but by the perverse regulations of man, that he is oppressed, and his means of existence compromised. The public mind will in consequence be alienated from the Legislature, and riot and intestine commotion will be the result. The restriction on importation was the sole cause of the high price of 1817 and 1818; and it was this high price that drove the manufac-

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turing classes to despair, and produced those commotions which were made the pretext for the employment of spies, for the Manchester carnage, and for the violent inroad on the Constitution effected by the Six Acts!

Compare the concluding sentences of these extracts, and observe how much more mealy-mouthed Mr M'Culloch is in 1826 than in 1824. That a man who is perpetually speaking about corn should become mealy-mouthed is indeed not surprising; but the truth is, that he wishes now to curry favour with certain persons, and is more on his guard against that natural tendency to violent language in which he was wont somewhat too savagely to indulge. He is quite mollified in temper and talk, and, in 1826, speaks of the people having been "the ready dupes of violent "and designing persons," and of "outrages that were productive of so much mischief," while, in 1824, speaking of the same actions and the same agents, he growls about commotions which were made the pretexts for the employment of spies, "the MANCHESTER CARNAGE," and the "violent inroad on "the constitution effected by the Six Acts."—Upright, sincere, consistent, disinterested, and high-souled patriot!

The other portion of the article on Mr Jacob's report, not existing in the article on Mr Whitmore's letter, is an inquiry into the amount of the loss entailed on the country by the corn laws. Is that portion not original? No, it is two years older than the "Standard." Mr M'Culloch's articles are as unlike as may be to the heavenly bodies—as unlike as light and darkness; but, in one respect, they resemble such luminaries—they have stated times of return. In the strictest sense of the word, they are periodicals, and their re-appearance, once every two or four years, can with certainty be predicted. In the month of February 1822, we first beheld the self-same opaque body which now darkens on the horizon.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, p. 342.

"But it is of the very essence of this question to observe, that the corn laws occasion the *destruction* of much more wealth than they *transfer*. We do not exaggerate when we affirm, that of every *five hundred thousand pounds* of excess of price drawn from the pockets of the consumers, scarcely *one hundred thousand* finds it way into the pockets of the landlords! The other *four hundred thousand* are absolutely and totally lost to the country; they are expended *en pure perte*, and without contributing in

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXII. February 1822, p. 474.

"They do not occasion a mere transfer of a part of the wealth of one class to another. If this was their only effect—if they merely plundered Peter to enrich Paul—they would be comparatively harmless. But they *destroy* much more than they transfer. It is no exaggeration to affirm, that of every *five* millions drawn by them from the pockets of the consumers, scarcely *one* finds its way into the pockets of the landlords! The other *four* are absolutely and totally lost to the country; they are expended *en*

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"the smallest degree to increase the comforts or enjoyments of any individual whatever. We admit that this is rather a startling statement; but if we succeed in establishing its perfect accuracy, it cannot be necessary to add another word to show the vast advantages that would result from the abolition of the Corn laws."

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pure perte, and without contributing in the smallest degree to increase the comforts or enjoyments of any individual whatever. This is rather a startling statement: but it will not require a very elaborate argument to show that it is perfectly correct."

Mr M'Culloch tells us, that he admits this is "rather a startling statement." But why should the readers of the Edinburgh Review be startled in 1826 by a statement that was submitted to them on the same authority in 1822? Why will the infatuated purchasers of that periodical forget any of its startling statements? It seems to us to be a statement so exceedingly startling, that, once heard, it could be in no danger of ever being forgotten even by the most treacherous and least tenacious memory. People do not easily forget that which, at the time, frightened them out of their seven senses. What more ludicrous picture can the imagination conjure up, than Mr M'Culloch, with a pair of scissars in his paw, clipping out of a four-year old number a "startling statement," and, then, after pasting it down on whitey-brown, with a gruff chuckle of satisfaction at the thought of terrifying the lieges, again flourishing his weapon, "to establish its perfect accuracy," in all the triumph of a tailor?

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 342, 343.

"The rent of a country consists, as we have shown again and again, of the excess, or the value of the excess, of the produce obtained from the superior soils under cultivation, above that which is obtained from the worst. But when, by excluding ourselves from the cheapest markets for corn, we force recourse to be had to poorer soils, we not only increase the *magnitude* and *value* of that portion of the produce of the country received by the landlord as rent, but we also increase the value of that portion which is required, to indemnify the farmer for his expenses,—a portion which is invariably much larger than the other. According to answers made to queries circulated by the Board of Agriculture, and the evidence taken before the Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons in 1814 and 1821, the average proportion which the rent paid to the landlords in England and Wales, bears to the whole produce of the soil, does not exceed A FIFTH. But let us take the proportion as high as A FOURTH: it is plain, that,

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXII. February 1822. pp. 473, 476.

"Rent, as we have already explained, consists of the excess, or of the value of the excess, of the produce obtained from the superior lands in cultivation above that which is obtained from the very worst. But when, by excluding ourselves from the cheapest market for corn, we force recourse to be had to poorer soils, we not only increase the *quantity* and the *value* of that portion of the produce of the country received by the landlord as rent, but we also increase the value of that portion which is required to indemnify the former for his expenses. Now, this portion is always far greater than the other. According to the returns made to the Board of Agriculture, and the evidence taken before the Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons in 1814, the average proportion which rent bears in England and Wales to the value of the whole produce of the soil, does not exceed ONE-FIFTH. But when prices rise, neither the farmer nor any other individual reaps the smallest advantage from the enhancement of the value of the

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when prices rise because of restrictions on importation from abroad, or any other cause, the landlords receive such additional price only for that *one-fourth* part of the produce of the country which belongs to them as rent. This is a point about which it is evidently impossible there can be two opinions. And it is hardly less obvious, that neither the farmer nor any other individual reaps the smallest advantage from the rise in the price or value of the *three-fourths*, which do not go to the landlord. For, it must be observed, that when the price of corn rises, the wages of the labourers which the farmer employs must sooner or later be raised in a corresponding proportion; at the same time that the expenses of seed, of the keep of horses, of the maintenance of his own family, &c. are all *equally and immediately increased*. If the rise of price, occasioned by the exclusion of foreign corn, could be confined to that portion of the produce which belongs to the landlord, he would receive the whole extra sum forced by the exclusion out of the pockets of the consumer. But this is not, and cannot possibly be the case. There cannot be *two* prices of the same commodity at the same time and in the same market. The monopoly system, which gives a greater value to that *one-fourth* part of the produce which goes to the landlords as rent, equally raises the value of the other *three-fourths*, which are partly cast into the soil as seed, and partly consumed by the men, horses, and oxen employed by the farmer.

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four-fifths which do not go to the landlord. This is just so much value thrown away. When the price of corn is elevated by means of a factitious system, the wages of the labourers which the farmer employs must, sooner or later, be raised in a corresponding proportion; while the heavy expenses attending the keep of his horses, and his other outgoings, are all equally, and almost instantaneously increased. If the rise of price occasioned by the exclusion of foreign corn could be confined to that part of the produce only which belongs to the landlord, he would receive the whole extra sum which the exclusion would force out of the pockets of the consumer. But this is not, and cannot be, the case. There cannot be *two* prices of the same commodity at the same time, and in the same market. The factitious system, which puts a greater value on the *one-fifth* of the produce which goes to the landlord, equally raises the value of the other *four-fifths* which are *cast into the soil as seed, or which are consumed by the men, horses, and oxen employed by the farmer*."

The Great Economist must be a sad bore to the printers. For every now and then, during the process of clipping, he capriciously leaves out bits that seem to us as well worthy of reprint as the rest of the context. Then he has such an inveterate habit of transposing,—we do pity the poor compositors. What would they not give just to be allowed to set up the article as it stands, straight forward from beginning to end, without so much needless botheration! We have ourselves now found it a more difficult and laborious task to clip M'Culloch than our friend Hogg to shear a whole hirsel. But here comes a satisfactory screed, and these scissars are really meritorious, and work sweetly.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp. 343, 344.

"It appears, therefore, from reasonings directly deduced from the statements of

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXII. February 1822, pp. 476, 477.

"It appears, therefore, from reasonings deduced from the statements of the

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the most intelligent agriculturists, that to whatever extent the Corn laws raise the price of corn above what it would be were these laws repealed, not more than *one fourth* part of that sum finds its way into the pockets of the landlords; and that the remaining *three-fourths* are absolutely and entirely lost and destroyed. It has been contended, indeed, that although a very large proportion of that increased price, which the present system obliges the consumers of corn to pay for it, is not received either by the landlord or farmer, it is paid as wages to the labourers employed in its production, and cannot, therefore, be said to be wholly lost. But this is plainly a most feeble and impotent attempt to bolster up a worthless system, by still more worthless arguments. We ask, first, whether it is possible to deny that the increased value which the restrictive system gives to the corn used as seed, and in the feeding of horses, is not absolutely and totally lost? Can it be said that seed is more productive when it costs 70s. or 80s. a quarter, than when it costs only 50s. or 55s.? Or, is it really true, that the strength and swiftness of our horses are augmented when they are made to feed on dearer corn? But, even if all the produce which is not received by the landlord were to be expended in the maintenance of labourers, it would be of no consequence to our argument. It is true, that if we were to purchase our food in the cheapest market, a considerable number of persons now engaged in the cultivation of bad soils would be thrown out of *that* employment. But it is no less true that they would be employed in some other way. If the consumers of corn were able to obtain the same supply of that necessary for two-thirds or three-fourths of the sum which it now costs, they would most unquestionably have the other third or fourth of this sum to expend on something else. The *total effective* demand of the country for the produce of labour, and consequently the rate of wages, and the power of obtaining employment, would therefore continue the same; while its wealth would be augmented by the produce of the labour of all the hands which had been set free from the production of corn. Suppose we require, under the existing system, the labour of *two* millions of people to raise forty-eight millions of quarters of corn, and that, by throwing

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most intelligent agriculturists, that to whatever extent the Corn laws raise the price of corn above what it would be were these laws repealed, not more than *one fifth* of that sum finds its way into the pockets of the landlords; *and that the remaining* FOUR-FIFTHS *are absolutely and entirely lost or destroyed.* Perhaps, however, we shall be told, that although a very large proportion of that increased price which the present system obliges the consumers of corn to pay for it, is not received either by the landlord or the farmer, it is paid as wages to the labourers employed in its production, and cannot, therefore, be said to be lost to the State. But this will not do. Is it possible to deny, that the factitious value which the restrictive system gives to the corn used as seed, and in the feeding of horses, is not absolutely and entirely lost? But, even if all the produce which is not received by the landlord were to be expended in the maintenance of labourers, it would be of no consequence to this argument. It is true, that if we were to purchase our food in the cheapest market, a considerable number of the persons now engaged in the cultivation of bad soils would be thrown out of *that* employment. But it is no less true that they would be employed in some other way. If the consumers of corn were enabled to obtain the same supply of that necessary for one-half, or two thirds of the sum which it now costs, they would most unquestionably have the other half or third of this sum to expend on something else. The *total effective* demand of the country for the produce of labour, and consequently the rate of wages, and the power of obtaining employment, would therefore continue the same; while its wealth would be augmented by the produce of the labour of all hands which had been set free from the production of corn. Suppose we require, under the existing system, the labour of *two* millions of people to raise forty millions of quarters of corn, and that, by throwing the ports open, we may obtain as large a supply by the labour of *one* million; then, as the means by which the consumers paid the labour of the two millions of hands cannot be diminished in consequence of this increased facility of production, it is clear to demonstration, that, after the fall of prices, the surplus million of hands will

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the ports open, we obtain as large a supply by the labour of *one million and a half*; then, as the means by which the consumers paid the labour of the two millions of hands could not be diminished in consequence of this increased facility of production, it is clear to demonstration, that, after the fall of prices, the surplus half million of hands would be employed in some other pursuit: and consequently, that the produce of their labour would be so much *clear gain*—so much of *positive addition* to the previous wealth and riches of the country.

"It may therefore be concluded, that of the enormous sum of about TWENTY millions, which the restrictions on the corn trade take, in ordinary years, from the consumers, not more than *five* find their way into the pockets of the landlords. The other *fifteen* millions are entirely lost, or, which is the same thing, are entirely swallowed up by the increased expenses attending the cultivation of the bad soils to which the Corn laws force us to have recourse. Instead, therefore, of its being true, as has sometimes been alleged, that the Corn laws assist in enabling the country to make good the taxes necessary to pay the interest of the public debt, and the expenses of the peace establishment, it is obvious that *they form, of themselves, by far the greatest of all the burdens we have to sustain!* No people was ever before subjected to such a scourge. The Corn laws do not, like an ordinary tax, transfer wealth from one portion of the public to another; but, on the most moderate estimate, they occasion a most positive destruction,—*a dead annual loss to the public, of not less than* FOURTEEN *or* FIFTEEN *millions!*"

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be employed in some other pursuit; and consequently, that the produce of their labour will be so much *clear gain*—so much of *positive addition* to the previous wealth and riches of the country.

"It may therefore be concluded, that of the enormous sum of TWENTY or TWENTY-FIVE millions, which the restrictions on the corn trade take from the consumers, not more than *five*, and certainly not more than *seven* millions, come into the hands of the landlords. The other *fifteen* or *eighteen* millions are entirely lost, or, which is the same thing, they are entirely swallowed up by the increased expenses attending the cultivation of the bad soils to which the Corn Laws force us to have recourse. Instead, then, of the Corn Laws enabling the country to make good the taxes necessary to pay the interest of the public debt, and the expenses of the peace establishment, *they are, themselves, by far the greatest of all the burdens we have to sustain!* No country was ever before subjected to such a scourge. They do not merely transfer wealth; but they occasion a positive destruction—*a dead annual loss to the public, of not less than* FIFTEEN *or* EIGHTEEN *millions!*"

The printed pages, alleged to have been two different articles, have now been shown, with the exception of about half a dozen, to be one and the same article. That half dozen, so ostentatiously presented to the public within this last fortnight, in the only vehicle worthy of the information which they contain,—Edinburgh Review, No. 88. for September 1826,—are reprinted, without a single syllable of alteration or acknowledgment, from the Scotsman of January the 28, 1826. And in that number of the Scotsman you also find great part,—indeed we should say all,—of the argument already quoted about the destruction of so many millions of capital. It is also to be found verbatim in the Scotsman, February 10, 1821. So Mr M'Culloch has ab-

solutely favoured us with that astounding folly, word for word, four times over! Nay, he has advanced it in a shorter space in several other articles in the Review and Newspaper. He is evidently, as the worthy and intelligent editor of the Courier lately insinuated, stark staring mad on the subject: but the worthy and intelligent editor of the Courier had no notion, when he was alluding to the raving in No. 88., that the maniac had for many years been heard howling the same lugubrious lamentations in the small place of confinement. But see how articles are now a-days got up for the blue and yellow.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVIII. September 1826, pp 320, 325.

"Attempts have sometimes been made to compute the quantity of corn raised in a country, from calculations founded on the number of acres in tillage, and on the average produce *per* acre. But it is plain that no accurate estimate can ever be framed of the extent of land under cultivation. It is perpetually changing from year to year; and the amount of produce varies not only with the differences of seasons, but also with every improvement of agriculture. This method, therefore, is now rarely resorted to; and the growth of corn is generally estimated from the *consumption*. The conclusions deduced from this criterion must indeed be subject to error, as well from variations in the price of corn as from the varying extent to which other food is used. But supposing the prices of corn to be reduced to an average, if the consumption of a considerable number of persons of all ranks and orders, and of all ages and sexes, were accurately determined, we should be able, supposing the census of the population to be nearly correct, to make a very close approximation to the total consumption of the country. Mr Charles Smith, the well-informed and intelligent author of the Tracts on the Corn Trade, made many curious investigations with a view to discover the mean annual consumption of corn; and, reducing it to the *standard of wheat*, he found it to be at the rate of about a *quarter for each individual*, young and old. This estimate has been confirmed by a variety of subsequent researches; and, among others, by inquiries made during the scarcity of 1795 and 1796, by the Magistrates of Suffolk, in 42 different parishes, in the view of ascertaining the average consumption of each family, which

SCOTSMAN, January 28, 1826.

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they found to correspond very closely with Mr Smith's estimate. It is also worthy of remark, that M. Paucton, the intelligent author of the *Metrologie*, estimates the mean annual average consumption in France, when reduced to the standard of wheat, at about 10 bushels for each individual; and as the French consume considerably more bread, and less animal food, than the English, this estimate affords a strong proof of the correctness of that of Mr Smith.

"Having taken the population of England and Wales, in 1765, at 6,000,000, Mr Smith reckoned the consumers of each kind of grain, the quantity consumed by each individual, and hence the whole consumed by man, to be as follows:—

Estimated Population of England and Wales.	Average Consumption of each Person.	Consumed by Man. Quarters.
3,750,000 consumers of wheat, at one qr. each,		3,750,000
739,000 do. of barley, at 1⅜ do.		1,016,125
888,000 do. of rye, at 1⅛ do.		999,000
623,000 do. of oats, at 2⅞ do.		1,791,225
Consumed by man,		7,556,350
In addition to this, Mr Smith estimated the wheat distilled, made into starch, &c.		90,000
Barley used in malting, &c.		3,417,000
Rye for hogs, &c.		31,000
Oats for horses, &c.		24,61,500
Total of home consumption,		13,555,850
Add excess of exports over imports,		398,624
		13,954,474
Add seed, *one-tenth*,		1,395,447
Total growth of all kinds of grain in England and Wales in 1765,		15,349,921

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Oats for horses, &c.		2,461,500
Total of home consumption,		13,555,850
Add excess of exports over imports,		398,624
		13,954,474
Add seed, *one tenth*,		1,395,447
Total growth of all kinds of grain in England and Wales in 1765,		15,349,921

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"This estimate, it will be observed, does not include either Scotland or Ireland; and later inquiries have rendered it probable that Mr Smith had underrated the population of England and Wales by nearly one million. The most eminent agriculturists seem also to be of opinion, that the allowance for seed ought to be stated as high as a seventh.

"Mr Chalmers, availing himself of the information respecting the numbers of the people, furnished under the Population Act of 1800, estimated the total consumption of all the different kinds of grain in Great Britain at that epoch, at 27,185,500 quarters, whereof wheat constituted 7,676,100 quarters. The crops of 1800 and of 1801 being unusually deficient, the importation in these years was proportionally great; but excluding these scarcities, the total average excess of all sorts of grain imported from Ireland and foreign countries into Great Britain over the exports, had previously amounted to about one million of quarters, which, deducted from 27,185,500, leaves 26,185,500, to which, if we add *one seventh* as seed, we shall have 29,925,057 quarters, as the average growth of Great Britain in 1800.

"The population of Ireland, as ascertained by the census of 1821, amounts to very near seven millions. The greatest portion of its inhabitants are, it is true, supported by the potatoe, and seldom or never taste bread; but we shall probably be within the mark if we estimate the number of those fed on the various kinds of corn at three millions, and the average quantity of the different sorts of grain consumed by each individual at two quarters. This would give 6,000,000 of quarters as the total consumption of Ireland.

"But the population of Great Britain has increased since 1800 from 10,942,000 to 14,379,000; and both Mr Western and Dr Colquhoun concurred in estimating the average consumption of the whole empire in 1812 and 1814, at about thirty-five millions of quarters.

The following is Dr Colquhoun's estimate:—

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"This estimate, it will be observed, does not include either Scotland or Ireland, and later inquiries have rendered it probable that Mr Smith had underrated the population of England and Wales by nearly one million. The most eminent agriculturists seem to be of opinion, that the allowance for seed ought to be stated as high as a *seventh*.

"Mr Chalmers, availing himself of the information respecting the numbers of the people, furnished under the population act of 1800, estimated the total consumption of all the different kinds of grain in Great Britain at that epoch, at 27,185,500 quarters, whereof wheat constituted 7,676,100 quarters: The crops of 1800 and of 1801 being unusually deficient, the importation in these years was proportionally great; but excluding these scarcities, the total average excess of all sorts of grain imported from Ireland and foreign countries into Great Britain over the exports, had previously amounted to about one million of quarters, which, deducted from 27,185,500, leaves 26,185,500, to which, if we add *one-seventh* as seed, we shall have 29,925,057 quarters as the average growth of Great Britain in 1800.

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† Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxviii

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Estimated Average of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland.	*Each person averaged.	Consumed by Man.	Consumed by Animals.	Used in Beer and Spirits.	Used in various Manufactures	Total of Quarters.
		Quarters.	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	
Wheat.....	9,000,000	1	9,000,000			170,000	9,170,000
Barley.....	1,500,000	1¼	1,875,000	210,000	4,25,000		6,350,000
Oats.....	4,500,000	1½	6,750,000	10,200,000			16,950,000
Rye.....	500,000	1¼	625,000	59,000		1,000	685,000
Beans & Peas	500,000	1	500,000	1,360,000			1,860,000
Totals	16,000,000		18,750,000	11,829,000	4,250,000	171,000	35,000,000

" Dr Colquhoun has made no allowance for seed in this estimate; and there can be no doubt that he has underrated the consumption of oats by at least one half quarter in the consumption of each of the 4,500,000 individuals he supposes fed on them, or by 2,250,000 quarters. Adding, therefore, to Dr Colquhoun's estimate five and a half millions of quarters for seed, and 2,150,000 quarters for the deficiency of oats, it will bring it to 4,750,000 quarters. And taking the

Scotsman, Jan. 28. 1826.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Estimated Average of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland.	Each person averaged.	Consumed by Man.	Consumed by Animals.	Used in Beer and Spirits.	Used in various Manufactures.	Total of Quarters.
		Quarters.	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	*Quarters.*	
Wheat.....	9,000,000	1	9,000,000			170,000	9,170,000
Barley.....	1,500,000	1¼	1,875,000	210,000	4,250,000		6,335,000
Oats.....	4,500,000	1½	6,750,000	10,200,000			16,950,000
Rye.....	500,000	1¼	625,000	59,000		1,000	685,000
Beans & Peas	500,000	1	500,000	1,360,000			1,86 , 0
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ncrease of population since 1813 into account, it does not appear to us that the annual average consumption of the different kinds of grain in the United Kingdom can now be estimated at less than FORTY-TWO millions of quarters, exclusive of seed, and at FORTY-EIGHT millions when it is included. Assuming this estimate to be correct, and the proportion of wheat to amount to *twelve* millions of quarters, the progresive consumption will be as follows:

Consumption of Wheat and other Grains in the United Kingdom, in a year, six months, a month, a week, &c.

	Wheat, Quarters.	Other Grain, Quarters,	Total, Quarters.
A Year,	12,000,000	36,000,000	48,000,000
Six Months,	6,000,000	18,000,000	24,000,000
Three Months,	3,000,000	9,000,000	12,000,000
Six Weeks,	1,500,000	4,500,000	6,000,000
One Month,	1,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000
Two Weeks,	500,000	1,500,000	2,000,000
One Week,	250,000	750,000	1,000,000
One Day,	35,714	107,143	142,857

"Several very important conclusions may be drawn from this Table. And, in the first place, it shews, that the largest importations that have ever taken place, bear but a very small proportion to the total consumption of the country. It appears, from papers printed by order of the House of Commons, that the total imports of wheat from all parts of the world, from the year 1800 to 1826 both inclusive, amounted to only 12,577,029

SCOTSMAN, JAN. 28, 1826.

Kingdom can now be estimated at less than FORTY-TWO millions of quarters, exclusive of seed, and at FORTY-EIGHT millions when it is included. Assuming this estimate to be correct, and the proportion of wheat to amount to *eleven* millions of quarters, the progressive consumption will be as follows:

Consumption of Wheat and other Grain in the United Kingdom, in a year, six months, a month, a week, &c.

	Wheat, Quarters,	Other Grain, Quarters,	Total, Quarters,
A Year,	11,000,000	37,000,000	48,000,000
Six Months,	5,500,000	18,500,000	24,000,000
Three Months,	2,750,000	9,250,000	12,000,000
Six Weeks,	1,375,000	4,625,000	6,000,000
One Month,	916,666	3,083,333	* 4,000,000
Two Weeks,	458,333	1,541,666	2,000,000
One Week,	229,166	770,833	1,000,000
One Day,	32,738	110,119	142,858

* The recurring decimals, 999, &c, are turned into whole numbers.

"Several very important conclusions may be drawn from this Table. It appears that the largest importations that have ever taken place, bear but a very small proportion to the total consumption of the country. It appears from papers printed by order of the House of Commons, that the total imports of wheat from the year 1800 to 1820 both inclusive, amounted to only 12,577,029 quarters, giving an annual average of 589,960 quarters. It

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quarters, giving an annual average of no more than 589,906 quarters. It will also be observed, that the *average price* of that period was as high as 84s. 6d., and that it included five years of decided scarcity, and when the home prices rose to a most oppressive height. We subjoin a note of these years, with the prices and *the total quantities* OF ALL SORTS *of grain* imported into Great Britain from foreign countries.

1800...110s. 5d. ...2,135,597 qrs,
1801...115s. 11d. 2,405,544
1810...105s. 0d,... 1,688,268
1817... 94s. 0d,... 1,797,181
1818... 83s. 0d,... 3,522,729

Now, it appears from this *official* statement, that notwithstanding the ruinously high prices of these years, and although every corner of the commercial world was ransacked with a view to the supply of the British markets, such is the vastness of our demand, that the total quantity imported rarely amounted to *one-twentieth* part of the entire consumption; and in 1818, which was the year of greatest importation, the foreign corn imported did not amount to *one-thirteenth* part of the required supply, or to *four weeks consumption*! This is, of itself, sufficient to show that nothing can be more perfectly futile than the fears and apprehensions entertained by the agriculturists with respect to the excessive importations of foreign corn that would take place were our ports thrown open."

SCOTSMAN, JAN. 28. 1826.

will also be observed, that the average price of that period was as high as 84s. 6d., and that it included *five* years of decided scarcity, and when the prices rose to a most oppressive height. We subjoin a note of these years, with the prices and the *total quantities of* ALL SORTS *of grain* imported into Great Britain from foreign countries;

1800...110s. 5d....2,155,597 qrs.
1801...115s. 11d. 2,405,554
1810...105s..... 1,688,268
1817... 94s..... 1,797,181
1818... 83s, 8d. 3,522,729

"Now, it appears from this *official* statement, that notwithstanding the ruinously high prices of these years, and although every corner of the commercial world was ransacked with a view to the supply of the British markets, such is the vastness of our demand, that the total quantity imported rarely amounted to *one-twentieth* part of the entire consumption; and in 1818, which was the year of greatest importation, the foreign corn imported did not amount to *one-thirteenth* part of the required supply, or to *four weeks consumption*! Nothing, then, it is plain, can be more perfectly futile than the fears and apprehensions entertained by the agriculturists with respect to the excessive importations of foreign corn that would take place were our ports thrown entirely open, or opened, as they ought to be, under a moderate duty,

But we have not yet come to the climax of the conduct of this most incredible cobbler. Would you believe it, that almost the whole of the above statement is to be found likewise in Mr M'Culloch's article, "Corn Laws and Trade," in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica?

Three or four pages of a statistical nature yet remain unaccounted for; but they, too, are in the two articles nearly identical, as will be seen by any one who chooses to compare them; and, of course, for the original of them both, you have only to go to the article Corn Laws in the Supplement!

We have now proved our charge against Mr M'Culloch, that he has palmed upon the Public "an auld cloak for a new," and been such a sly extortioner, as to make the old Lady come down, unconscious of the cheat, with her cash for an article purchased and paid for years before to the same treacherous tradesman.

Will the Editor of the Edinburgh Review allow us to indite for his perusal a single paragraph about this misdemeanour of his servant? Whatever differences of opinion there may have been among the readers of that Journal respecting the soundness of its doctrines on literature and politics, there never were any differences of opinion among them respecting the personal character of its Editor. Mr Jeffrey has always stood high in the estimation of his country, as a man of high honour and unimpeachable integrity. The profession which he has so long adorned by his genius and his eloquence, he has also dignified by a spirit that spurned far from him all the pettifogging chicanery of its lower practitioners. How, then, it may be asked, can he reconcile to the honourable practice and honourable principles of his whole life, private and professional, his encouragement of or connivance at the base and stupid trick on the public which we have now exposed? The only answer to such a question is, that Mr Jeffrey is, at this hour, in utter ignorance of the fraud committed on himself and his subscribers. The fraud is one of the meanest, lowest, and most ludicrous kind; one that we feel assured Mr Jeffrey himself will somewhat bitterly laugh at, when the lapse of a few minutes shall have permitted his indignant wonder to subside into contempt and scorn.

Imagine but for a moment, that such a trick as this had been played off by Mr Jeffrey—not Mr M'Culloch—that, for example, he had, in No. 88. of his Review, reprinted as a new critique on some new production of the Lake school of poetry, that alarming Essay in No. 1., that, as the Critic fondly believed, like the great earthquake at Lisbon, caused the waters of Windermere to forsake their banks, and then huddling themselves up into a heap, to break disconsolately, and with melancholy murmurs along her deploring woods, from whose haunts all her genii had taken flight in despair! Why, Mr Jeffrey's earthquake would, under such circumstances, have been as harmless as Mr Brougham's thunder. Not a bardling would have trembled even in his little finger; and Goody Blake, Betty Foy, and Alice Fell would have taken their revenge upon him in a triumphant and unextinguishable guffaw. Or suppose that the Phrenologists, who are now all buckling on their armour to meet Mr Jeffrey in mortal combat, with sword and lance, were to discover that the sixty-six page article, in which he fulmines over Modern Athens, and would fain shake the arsenal of their science, was no better than an old battering-ram, who had, years ago, unavailingly bounced his forehead against the walls within which Drs Gall and Spurzheim lay entrenched with all their chivalry, and from which they had made a sortie, to the discomfiture of their rash assailant?

But whatever may be Mr Jeffrey's faults or defects as an edi-

tor of a critical journal, poverty of intellect and knowledge is certainly not one of them; and when he does happen unconsciously to repeat himself, which any man who either speaks or writes much will inevitably do, there seldom fails to be some new feeling, fancy, thought, or image thrown out that makes the "auld claes look amaist as weel's the new;" and also convinces us, that if he does apparel himself in a garment a little the worse for wear, it has been put on in a fit of absence, and that, for serious, solemn, or stately occasions, he has in reserve becoming drapery in a richer wardrobe. Mr Jeffrey has, indeed, written such a multitude of articles on almost all imaginable subjects, that we should not have been at all surprized to have seen him, after an active editorship of a quarter of a century, in a state of great mental exhaustion. But he absolutely seems to be as copious and energetic as the day he started on his critical career; and sure we are, that never once did the notion cross his brain, of relieving himself from all labour by the expedient of reprinting his aged articles. That mode of lessening the labour necessary for the production of a manufactured article, we owe entirely to the inventive genius of a M'Culloch; and we have no doubt that the machinery he employs, though worked by the hand, is equal to a steam-engine of twenty-stot power.

We are, therefore, convinced that Mr Jeffrey is now, for the first time, let into the secret; and, if so, what may be his opinion of Mr M'Culloch? That person does not, we presume, write articles on political economy, without fee or reward, from the pure love of the science. He writes on corn for bread. And in doing so, according to the rules of a liberal profession, he does well; but he does ill, if, forgetful or regardless of the feelings and principles that guide the conduct of every author, with any pretensions to the character of a gentleman, he rubs his itching palm with coin he has not earned, and pockets two month's wages for one month's work.

With what ineffable disdain would Mr Gifford have cut the acquaintance of any contributor who had dared to insult him by proposing that he should countenance a swindle of this sort in the Quarterly Review? And what a terrible example would that great satirist have made of him who should by any accident have succeeded in such a hoax? "What would Mrs Grundy have said" of Mr Lockhart, had he begun his editorial career with such a portentous blunder?—If Mr Croker or Mr Southey had, through him, favoured the public with a reprint of one of his crack articles, provailed upon him to cheat Mr Murray's fourteen thousand subscribers, and for ever to degrade himself, or, taking advantage of his not unnatural forgetfulness of the contents of No. 14, 16, or 20, had got him to administer to the Public

the same soporific labelled Article 8, 10, or 12?—From either of such suppositions regarding such men, the mind at once recoils.

Christopher North, we are happy to say, acquits Mr Jeffrey of all participation in this hoax. His hypothesis is, that that gentleman has never, in all his born days, read one single syllable of Mr M'Culloch's writings. They are, he thinks, so unconscionably dull,—so very very prosing—beyond all bounds so stupid, that the Editor's vivacity is not proof against them, and he closes his keen eyes in sleep. The few who have read Mr M'Culloch's articles will admit the validity of this defence, and surely their judgment is preferable to that of the multitude who have never been subjected to the influence of the economist's works. All the facts yet discovered agree with this favourite hypothesis of Mr North, and we shall therefore assume it to be established, till Mr Jeffrey himself demolish it, and favour the world with one in its stead equally plausible, and consistent with the principles of human nature.

Few persons are more judicious admirers of the Edinburgh Review than we are; and we are truly sorry to think of the ridicule and disgrace which Mr M'Culloch has thus brought upon its very name. We confess that we cannot at present see what else Mr Jeffrey can do to convince the world of his just indignation against the author of his journal's disgrace, and to prevent himself and his subscribers from being subjected to future frauds from the same quarter, than to kick Mr M'Culloch out of the concern. If averse from a measure of that decided character, he must allow the hoaxer to resign his place in the firm to some honester partner. Things, it is plain, can never be allowed to go on in this way; for what security could the Editor have against such contributor? No prudent man retains a servant in *his* house after discovering that he has been long guilty of gross misdemeanours, however apparently sincere may be the menial's contrition, however vulgarly voluble his protestations of amendment. "Go, sir," is the word—his wages are paid up to the term day—the low door is shut by the discarded and disheartened delinquent, and he walks off without a written character. In retaining Mr M'Culloch in his service, Mr Jeffrey will be setting a very bad example to all editors of journals throughout the kingdom; "for this is not the cause of faction, or of party: but the common interest of every man in Britain."

We trust that the exposure of Mr M'Culloch's pranks will prevent the adoption of his principles of political economy in the conduct of other journals. Were those principles to be generally adopted and acted on by editors, there would be a singular and absurd revolution in the periodical world. For why should Mr M'Cul.

loch alone be allowed the privilege of perpetual reprint? Among the numerous body of contributors in Great Britain and Ireland, there are "five hundred good as he," and is it not a severe hardship on so many worthy people to be forced to let their dust-buried articles lie disinterred, and "to dull forgetfulness a prey," while, once every quarter, the progeny of the pride of Galloway star-like reappear above the horizon, rising and setting in perpetual youth? We therefore insist upon it, that either Mr M'Culloch shall be stripped of this privilege, or that it shall be conferred upon all the other literary lustres of the age. Then, indeed, would the life of an editor be the most enviable that could fall to the lot of any one of the children of men—a life of perfect peace! As soon as his Periodical had reached a certain age, he would only have to call a meeting of his contributors, and request them to select and send in each his monthly or quarterly article from the vast stores of the past. Such is the constant tendency of all things to oblivion, that the chance is, not one of all those articles thus allowed to revisit the light of day, after so many years slumber in the gloomy tomb, would ever be recognized by a single subscriber of the many thousands who had perused, purchased, and paid for them of old. Alas! of those subscribers, many are themselves dead—buried—forgotten! Green girls and gawky boys have taken their place—and what do they know of articles written before they were born? A few elderly gentlemen, through gout assiduous in their studies of the back-numbers, will, no doubt, observe that something odd is going on; but they will never suspect a new era—not they—at the worst, they may indite an expostulatory epistle to the editor, which, of course, goes whirling up the chimney; but they have neither heart nor habits of composition sufficient for an "Appeal to the Public on the Extraordinary Editorship of the Edinburgh Review."

Edited on this system, what admirable numbers might we have of the Edinburgh Review? Literature by Mr Jeffrey,—philosophy by Sir James Macintosh,—politics by Mr Brougham,—wit, humour, fun, and frolic, by the Rev. Sydney Smith,—selected articles,—all written in their happiest vein! But oh! misery of miseries, what a number might be put together from the hallucinations of the hacks of the concern! M'Culloch—Hazlitt—Reynolds—and "the rest." Such a number would prove fatal to many subscribers; they would not only give up the Review, but the ghost, and find refuge in the grave from the accumulated horrors of Cockneyism about to burst on their devoted heads.

We should not have been in the least degree surprized had Mr M'Culloch, emboldened by the success of his hitherto undetected artifices, sported the same article twice in the same number. An opening article stands pretty far removed from a concluding article. Ere the ordinary reader has waded through the space between, the memory of the opening article is lost or dim; and although he might be somewhat puzzled and perplexed by the sudden aspect of the apparition, in the questionable shape of the concluding article, we are persuaded that, if four and twenty hours were to elapse between perusals, he would seldom or never discover his friend of yesterday. In the case of Mr M'Culloch's articles, experience proves, that it is altogether impossible to imprint them on the tablets of the Public's memory; and seeing that the same article has been published and re-published so frequently in different numbers, without awakening the slightest suspicion of its identity, how can we doubt for a moment that it would have equal good luck in the same number, and pass itself off for two, just like any other swindler in a large town, who succeeds in robbing his lodgings, in the character of a blue red yellow Admiral in the morning, and in the evening gets possession of a gold repeater by playing the old General!

We could, if we chose, exhibit one of Mr M'Culloch's paragraphs, who, like "a tall bully, lifts his head and lies," assuming nine different disguises, and performing nine different characters in nine different companies. Here is a short one who performs five:

No. 1.

Mr M'Culloch's Essay on Reducing the Interest of the National Debt.—Edinburgh, 1816, pp. 139, 140.

'A general failure of the crops in an extensive kingdom, is a calamity that but seldom occurs. The weather that is unfavourable to vegetation in one species of soil, is frequently advantageous to it in another. If moist clayey lands suffer from a wet summer, the crops are rendered more luxuriant in dry rocky districts; the excess of produce in one province compensates for its deficiency in another, and except in anomalous cases, such as the present season, the total supply is nearly the same. If this be generally true of a single nation, it is *always* true in reference to the world at large. No one instance of universal scarcity blackens the history of mankind; but it is constantly found, that when the crops of one country fail, plenty reigns in some other quarter. A freedom of trade is alone wanting to guarantee a country like Britain, abounding in the varied products of industry, in merchandise suited to the wants of every society, from the possibility of a scarcity. The nations of the earth are not condemned to throw the dice to determine which of them shall submit to famine. There is always abundance of food in the world. To enjoy a constant plenty, we have only to lay aside our prohibitions and restrictions, and to cease to counteract the benevolent wisdom of Providence.

"The case of Holland strongly corroborates the truth of all we have now stated. In the days of her greatest prosperity, she was chiefly fed with imported corn, and the prices there were extremely moderate, and what is of infinite consequence, were more steady than in any other country of Europe.

No. II.

SCOTSMAN, 6th January 1821.

"Nor is this mere gratuitous assumption. The weather which is found to be unfavourable to the crops of one country, is invariably found to be favourable to those of another country having a different soil and climate. When moist clayey lands suffer from a wet season, the harvests are universally rendered more luxuriant in dry rocky districts. The excess of produce in one part compensates for its deficiency in another. And a simultaneous failure of the crops in different countries, is a calamity with which humanity has not hitherto been afflicted."

"But we have it in our power to appeal to a still more conclusive experience. Holland, in the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed by imported corn; and it is an undeniable fact, that the prices there were always extremely moderate, and fluctuated less than in any other country in Europe. Even during the convulsions of the last twenty years, and when her former commercial connexions had been almost all dissolved, prices continued extremely steady. The nations of the earth are not condemned to throw the dice to determine which of them shall submit to famine. There is always abundance of food in the world; and to enjoy a constant plenty, they have only to lay aside their prohibitions and restrictions, and to cease to counteract the benevolent wisdom of Providence."

No. III.

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRIT. Edin. 1819. Vol. III. Part II. p. 361.

"In the second place, the wider the surface from which a country derives its supplies of food, the less will it be exposed to fluctuations of price, arising from favourable or unfavourable seasons. A general failure of the crops of an extensive kingdom is a calamity that but seldom occurs. The weather that is unfavourable to vegetation in one species of soil, is frequently advantageous to it in another. If moist clayey lands suffer from a wet summer, the crops are rendered more luxuriant in dry rocky districts. The excess of produce in one province compensates for its deficiency in another; and, except in anomalous cases, the total supply is nearly the same. But, if this be true of a single nation, it is *always* true in reference to the world at large. No one instance of universal scarcity blackens the history of mankind; but it is constantly found, that when the crops of one country fail, plenty reigns in some other quarter. A freedom of trade is alone wanted to guarantee a country like Briton, abounding in all the varied products of industry, in merchandise suited to the wants of every society, from the possibility of a scarcity. The nations of the earth are not condemned to throw the dice to determine which of them shall submit to famine. There is always abundance of food in the world. To enjoy a constant plenty, we have only to lay aside our prohibitions and restrictions, and to cease to counteract the benevolent wisdom of Providence."

"The case of Holland strongly corroborates the truth of all we have stated; In the days of her greatest prosperity, she was chiefly fed with imported corn, and the prices there were extremely moderate; and what is of infinite consequence, were steadier than in any country of Europe."

No. IV.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXII. pp. 455, 456. February 1824.

"Nor is this mere theoretical reasoning. The weather, which is found to be unfavourable to the crops of one district, is invariably found to be favourable to those of another district, having a different soil and climate. When moist clay lands suffer from a wet season, the harvests are uniformly rendered more luxuriant in dry, rocky districts. The excess of produce in one part compensates for its deficiency in another; and, except in some anomalous cases, the average produce does not differ considerably. A failure of the crops throughout an extensive kingdom, is a calamity that does not often occur; and no single instance can be produced of a stimultaneous failure of the crops throughout the commercial world. On the contrary, it is always found, that when the harvest is unfavourable in one country, it is proportionably favourable in some other quarter. Holland in the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed by imported corn; and

it is an undeniable fact, that prices in Amsterdam were always moderate, and fluctuated less than in any other market in Europe. Even during the convulsions of the last twenty years, and when her former commercial connexions had been almost entirely dissolved, prices continued extremely steady. 'It is,' as the Count de Verri has happily observed, 'a melancholy error to suppose that the nations of the earth are condemned to throw the dice, to determine which of them shall submit to famine!' There is always abundance of food in the world:—And, to enjoy a constant plenty, we have only to throw our ports open—to lay aside our prohibitions and restrictions, and to cease to counteract the benevolent wisdom of Providence."

No. V.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXV. p. 183, January 1820.

"But in the second place, it is not true that restrictions on the Corn trade afford any security for our obtaining an ample and independent supply of raw produce. On the contrary, it is a recognised principle, that the wider the surface from which a country derives its supplies of food, the less will it be exposed to fluctuations of price, arising from favourable or unfavourable seasons. The weather that is injurious to one soil, or one situation, is generally favourable to a different soil and a different situation. A general failure of the crops throughout an extensive kingdom, is a calamity that but rarely occurs. The excess of produce in one province, generally compensates for its deficiency in another; and, except in anomalous cases, the total supply is nearly the same. But, if this be generally true of a single nation, it is always true in reference to the world at large. It is invariably found that when the crops of one country fail, plenty reigns in some other quarter. And a perfect freedom of trade is all that is wanted to guarantee a country like Britain, abounding in all the varied products of industry —in merchandise suited to the wants of every society—from the possibility of a scarcity."

Mr M'Culloch is, throughout all his writings, very severe on all governments that have imposed high taxes on the people. Speaking of the causes of the lowness of profits in Holland, he says, "Taxation affected all the sources of national wealth; and so oppressive did it ultimately become, that it was a common saying at Amsterdam, that every dish of fish brought to the table was paid for once to the fisherman, and six times to the state." He may thank his stars that he lives in a far different country; and that for every kettle of fish he sells to the public, he is paid sometimes five, sometimes ten times, yet bitterly complains of low wages and the grinding tyranny of taxation.

From Corn the transition is natural to Currency, so let us see how this most economical of writers transacts his business with the Banks. Towards the close of 1825, the money market was, as most of our readers must still have too good reason to remember, in a miserable condition. Early in the spring of the present year, Ministers submitted to Parliament their measures for the improvement of the currency; and Mr M'Culloch, who unfortunately for the country is not in the House, wisely taking the alarm at the ignorance and incapacity of the Town and Country Members, committed his views to paper for their guidance. His lucubrations form the leading article in the 86th number of the Edinburgh Review; but as that number could not be got up and out till nearly the end of March, our

Patriot could not endure a delay that might have been fatal to the very existence of this commercial country, and he therefore printed his article in a separate pamphlet—just as we are doing now—and most considerately and most generously presented a copy, as we have heard, with his compliments, to every one of his Majesty's Ministers, and to every Member of the Upper and of the Lower House. Perhaps the account of Mr M'Culloch's generosity may have been somewhat exaggerated by his friends; but true it is, that solely to save the country, his article was printed and distributed in a separate form some weeks before the appearance of the Review. In the debates that ensued in Parliament, allusions were made to that specimen of his saving wisdom—some persons expressing themselves in the language of the warmest gratitude—some laughing in their sleeves—and some guffawing outright at the presumption and conceit of their self-elected instructor. Of the latter number was the Earl of Lauderdale, who could not brook the arrogance of this volunteer Lecturer to the lords of the land, as well as to the merchants of cities. Ordinary people could not, by hook or crook, for love or money, get hold of the Panacea Pamphlet—and too many of the subscribers to the Edinburgh Review did, we fear, become bankrupt before the day of publication of Number 86, worthy Whigs who might have been saved by a timely swallow of Mr M'Culloch's nostrum. However, the number was given to the weary world at last—and the nation was saved from ruin.

No sooner had we clapped eyes on the Leading Article, than, as usual, we recognized an old acquaintance. It is made up of alternate scraps and screeds from old numbers of the Review—the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and the Scotsman newspaper! Only think, gentle reader, of the hoax thus played off by Mr M'Culloch upon both Houses of Parliament! The joke is absolutely not a bad one! So ludicrous is the man's forwardness and impertinence in thrusting his old articles upon all ranks, that people even in their disgust cannot choose but laugh. At Amsterdam, fish may have been paid six times to the state, but the consumer had them fresh for dinner, and the purchase being voluntary, he did not perhaps very angrily complain. But in Edinburgh, where fish is very cheap and pretty fresh, there are other articles—and especially those in which Mr M'Culloch deals—both musty and expensive. He gave a present, to be sure, of his article, in the shape of a pamphlet, to a number of great folks, hoping that they might be induced to deal with him afterwards on very different terms; but, although no Minister, he has no mercy "on the pockets of his people." He has been eternally brawling since the year 1816 against Ministers for "putting their hands into the pockets of the people," an elegant expression, of which

the cultivated mind never wearies, during the perusal of any of Mr M'Culloch's writings. But of all the Ministers that ever "put their hands into the pockets of the people," who plunged them in so frequently and so profoundly—who kept them there so long at a time groping in every corner—and who so crammed them with coin before taking them out again, as this very self-same identical Proteus, Mr John Ramsay M'Culloch?

EDINBURGH REVIEW, NO. LXXXVI. February 1825, pp. 266, 267.

"It results from these principles, that convertibility into gold and silver, at the pleasure of the holder, is not necessary to give value to paper money: And that, if perfect security could be obtained, that the power of issuing it would not be abused, or that it would always be issued in such quantities as would render a one-pound note uniformly equivalent to the quantity of standard gold bullion contained in a sovereign, the precious metals might be entirely dispensed with as a medium of barter, or used only to serve as small change.

"Unluckily, however, no such security can be given. This is a point with respect to which there can be no difference of opinion. The widest and most comprehensive experience shows, that no set of men have ever been invested with the power of making unrestricted issues of paper money, without abusing it; or, which is the same thing, without issuing it in inordinate quantities. Should the power to supply the State with paper money be vested in the managers of a private banking company, then to suppose that they should, by limiting their issues, endeavour constantly to sustain the value of their paper, would really be to suppose that they should be extremly attentive to the public interests, and extremely inattentive to their own! *It is quite certain that the re-enactment of the restriction on cash payments by the Bank of England, and the rendering of it perpetual, would not have the least effect on the value of our paper currency, provided its quantity was not at the same time increased.* But there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that, under such circumstances, it would be increased. Such a measure would enable the Directors of the Bank of England to exchange bits of engraved paper, not worth perhaps 5s. a quire, for as

EDINBURGH REVIEW, NO. LXI. December 1818, p. 61.

"It appears, therefore, that if there was perfect security, that the power of issuing paper money would not be abused,—that is, if there was perfect security for its being issued in such quantities as to preserve its value relatively to the mass of circulating commodities nearly uniform,—the precious metals might be entirely discarded from circulation.

"Unfortunately, however, no such security can be given.—If this power of supplying the State with money is vested in a private banking company such as the Bank of England; then, to suppose that they should constantly endeavour to sustain the value of their notes, would be to suppose that they should be extremely attentive to the public interests, and extremely inattentive to their own. The rendering the restriction act perpetual would not, in our opinion, at all affect the value of our paper currency, provided its quantity was not at the same time increased. But that, in such circumstances, it would be increased, is morally certain. —Such a proceeding would enable the Bank of England to exchange engraved paper, not worth perhaps 5s. a quire, for as many, or the value of as many hundreds of thousands of pounds. And is it to be supposed that the Directors and Proprietors of the Bank would not avail themselves of such an opportunity to amass wealth and riches? Is it to be supposed, that if the State enables a private gentleman to exchange a bit of paper for an estate, he will be deterred from doing so by any metaphysical considerations about its effects on the currency of the kingdom! In Loo Choo we might perhaps meet with such a primitive individual; but if we expect to find him in Europe, we shall assuredly be disappointed. In this quar-

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many, or the value of as many hundreds of thousands of pounds. And is it to be supposed that they would not avail themselves of such an opportunity to amass wealth and riches?—that if Government allows a private gentleman to exchange a bit of paper for an estate, he will be deterred from doing so by any considerations about its effect in sinking the value of the currency? In Loo Choo we might, perhaps, meet with such a disinterested individual; but if we expect to find him in England, the chances are a thousand to one that we shall be disappointed. In this quarter of the world, we are much too eager in the pursuit of fortune, to be in any degree affected by such scruples. It is indispensable, therefore, that the issuers of paper money should be placed under some efficient check or control; and the comparative steadiness of the value of the precious metals at once suggests, that no check can be so effectual as to subject the issuers of paper money to the obligation of exchanging their notes, at the pleasure of the holder, for a *given and unvarying quantity*, either of gold or silver."

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXI.

ter of the globe we are much too eager in the pursuit of fortune to be at all affected by any such Utopian scruples.

"On this point we are not left to be guided by general principles. We have it in our power to appeal to a widely extended and uniform course of experience,—to the history of Great Britain and every other state in Europe, and to that of the United States, to show that no man, or set of men, have ever been invested with the power of making unrestricted issues of paper money without abusing it—or, which is the same thing, without issuing it in inordinate quantities. It is essential, therefore, that the issuers of paper money should be placed under some species of check or control; and, for the reasons already stated, none seems so proper for that purpose as to subject the issuers of paper money to the obligation of exchanging their notes at the pleasure of the holder for a given and unvarying quantity either of gold or silver coin or bullion."

Considering that eight long years have well nigh passed away since December 1818, when the above Paragraph first met our eyes, it is surprising how well the old gentleman retains his looks. He is not a whit more prosy now than then; and how amiable his twaddle about Loo Choo! In 1818, Captain Basil Hall's delightful book on Loo Choo was in every one's hands; and there was much talk about the primitive islanders. In 1826, the allusion has somewhat lost its relish; but still it shows the character of the Paragraph in an endearing light, and we cannot find in our hearts to say anything harsh to the old twaddler.

There are a great many other parallel passages in the celebrated leading article, No. LXXXVI, and in the article on a pamphlet of Mr Ricardo, no less celebrated, we dare say, at the time, in No. LXI. But omitting them, let us turn to the Supplement.—Article MONEY.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 286.

"From the principle on which the business of banking is conducted, that

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOP. 1818. Article Money, Vol. V. p. 512.

"From the principle on which the banking business is conducted, that is

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is, from the circumstance of the profits of a banking company, for the issue of notes, depending mainly on the excess of the value of their notes in circulation, above the value of the dead stock retained in their coffers, to meet the demands of the public, it is obvious that no company, however wealthy, and however well its affairs may be managed, can avoid being considerably distressed and embarrassed by sudden runs, or demands for payment of their notes. But panics, which are the great cause of runs, seldom or never become general, except when the banks issue notes of so low a value as to fit them for being used in retail trade, and in the ordinary business of society. Previously to 1797, neither the Bank of England, nor any of the English country banks, were permitted to issue notes of less than *five* pounds. The currency used in small payments was thus made to consist exclusively of the precious metals; and as there was no opportunity for a panic taking place among the holders of small notes, only very few runs were made upon the banks, and very little loss was sustained by their failure. In 1797, this system was changed. The Bank of England was then, for the first time, empowered to issue one and two pound notes—a privilege which was soon after granted to the other banks. Bank paper having, in consequence of this arrangement, become, in truth, the only currency of the country, and being in the hands of almost every individual, the chances of runs, and, what is more to the purpose, runs themselves, have been multiplied to an unprecedented extent."

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

from the circumstance of the profits of a banking company depending mainly on the excess of the value of their notes in circulation above the value of the dead stock retained in their coffers to meet the demands of the public, it is obvious, that no company, however wealthy, and however well their affairs may be managed, can avoid being considerably distressed and embarrassed by sudden runs, or demands for payment of their notes. But panics, which are the great cause of runs, seldom or never become general, except when the banks issue notes of so low a value as to fit them for being used in retail trade, and in the ordinary business of society. Previously to 1797, neither the Bank of England, nor any of the English country banks, were permitted to issue notes for less than five pounds. The currency used in small payments was thus made to consist exclusively of the precious metals; and as there was no opportunity for a panic taking place among the holders of small notes, only very few runs were made on the banks, and very little loss was sustained by their failure. In 1797, this system was changed. The Bank of England was then, for the first time, empowered to issue one and two pound notes, a privilege which was soon after granted to the country banks. Bank paper having, in consequence of this arrangement, and of the restriction on cash payments, become the only currency of the country; and being in the hands of almost every individual, the chances of runs, and, what is more to the purpose, runs themselves, were multiplied to an unprecedented extent."

A few sentences then occur, which it is not worth while to trace; and of Mr M'Culloch, it may again be said with truth, that "none but himself can be his parallel."

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 287.

"In order to lessen the chances of runs, the directors of several of the country banks have adopted the ingenious device of making their notes payable in London, and *not* in the place

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOPÆDIA, Vol. V. 1822, p. 513.

"In order to diminish the chances of runs arising from the new position in which the country banks are now placed, the directors of several of the establishments have adopted the ingenious

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where they are issued! This is similar in principle to the clause that was formerly inserted in the notes issued by some of the Scotch banks, which made it *optional* for them either to pay the bearer when the note was presented, or *six months after* such presentment, allowing legal interest for these six months. The effects of this clause, which was abolished by act of Parliament, in degrading the value of the Scotch notes, are detailed by Dr Smith; and there can be no question, that the clause inserted in the English notes will have similar effects. A note, which cannot be converted into cash, unless it is carried two or three hundred miles, perhaps, from the sphere of its circulation, is plainly not so valuable as a note payable at the place where it is issued; and, if the Legislature does not interfere to stop this practice, we shall most probably have as many different values of paper, as there are different distances between the principal country-towns and London? An abuse of this kind ought upon no account to be tolerated."

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

device of making their notes payable in London, and *not* in the place where they are issued! This is a good deal similar to the clause that was formerly inserted in the notes issued by some of the Scotch banks, which made it *optional* for them either to pay the bearer when the note was presented, or *six months* after such presentment, allowing legal interest for these six months. The effects of this clause, which was abolished by act of Parliament, in degrading the value of the Scotch notes, are detailed by Dr Smith; and there can be no question that the clause inserted in the English notes will have similar effects. A note, which cannot be converted into cash, unless it is carried two or three hundred miles, perhaps, from the sphere of its circulation, is plainly not so valuable as a note payable at the place where it is issued; and if the Legislature do not interfere to check this practice, we shall certainly have as many different values of paper, as there are different distances between the principal country towns and London! An abuse of this kind cannot be tolerated."

But here comes a more formidable screed out of the Supplement; we have observed it verbatim in about six other places—here and there and everywhere—for it is a pet-passage.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, pp. 288—90.

"We are satisfied, however, that the fluctuations in question may be avoided without any such sacrifice. It was not to the increased issue of the notes of the Bank of England that took place during the latter years of the war, by the substitution of the low notes of that Establishment in the place of those of the country banks, but to their *shamefully defective execution*, that their forgery was to be ascribed. There has not, for upwards of half a century, been any *visible* improvement in the manufacture of Bank of England notes. Apparently satisfied with the security derived from *private* marks, the Directors have allowed notes to be issued, engraved in so wretched a style, and which afford so few distinguishing points or

SUPPLEMENT TO ENCYCLOPEDIA, Vol. V. 1822, pp. 518 and 511.

"We are satisfied, however, that such is not the case; and that it is not to the increased issue of Bank of England notes, but to their shamefully defective execution, that the prevalence of forgery ought principally to be ascribed. It is now nearly twenty-five years since Bank of England paper has constituted the legal currency of the country, and during the whole of that period, and for many years previously, there has been no *visible improvement in its manufacture*. Apparently satisfied with the security derived from *private* marks, the Directors have continued to issue notes, engraved in so wretched a style, and which affords so few distinguishing peculiarities or points, on which the eye can rest when comparing them with

peculiarities, on which the eye can rest in comparing them with each other, that they almost seem to be intended to stimulate the efforts of forgers. It would be rather rash, however, to conclude from this, that the arts have been stationary for the last fifty years, and that it is impossible to render the imitation of a bank-note a work of greater difficulty. It is, we admit, no easy task to manufacture a note which may not be counterfeited, even by ordinary engravers, with sufficient exactness to deceive the mass of those into whose hands it is likely to come in the course of circulation. But this is a difficulty that has been surmounted. Previously to 1814, the period when the Directors of the Bank of Ireland adopted Mr Oldham's plan for engraving their notes, their forgery was carried on to a very great extent. Since then, however, it has almost entirely ceased; and it appears from a paper printed in the Session 1821—22, by order of the House of Commons, that only *seventeen* persons had been convicted of issuing forged notes in Ireland in the three years ending with 1820! Although, therefore, we do not pretend to be informed with respect to the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the Directors of the Bank of England from issuing the improved notes of which so much has been said, there are good grounds for doubting whether they can be so formidable as has been represented. It is a very mistaken notion to suppose, as the Directors of the Bank of England seem to have done, that nothing less than the issue of *inimitable* notes can be of any material service. This is a degree of perfection to which it is in vain to expect to reach. Whatever has been executed by one set of artists, *may* be imitated by some other set. But, provided this imitation be rendered, as it may be, a work of comparative difficulty, the public interests will be sufficiently protected. Notes which can only be counterfeited by first-rate engravers, will very rarely be counterfeited at all; and never in such numbers as to be productive of any seriously injurious consequences.

"Forgery, it must be remembered, is an evil inseparable from the use of

each other, that they almost seem to have been intended to stimulate the efforts of forgers! But, although no improvement has been made for nearly half a century in the manufacture of the notes of the Bank of England; and although they are executed in so rude and clumsy a manner, as to be easily imitated by every engraver's apprentice, it would be rather rash to conclude from thence that the arts have all the while been stationary, and that it is impossible to render their imitation a work of comparative difficulty! It is, we admit, no easy task to manufacture a note which may not be counterfeited, even by ordinary engravers, with sufficient exactness to deceive the mass of those into whose hands it might be supposed to come in the course of circulation. But that this is not an insurmountable difficulty, is certain. The experience, both of Ireland and the United States, shows that notes may be engraved in such a manner as to exclude all dangerous competition on the part of forgers. Previously to 1814, the period when the Directors of the Bank of Ireland adopted Mr Oldham's plan for engraving their notes, their forgery was carried on to a very great extent. But since then, it has almost entirely ceased; and it appears from a paper printed last Session (1821) by order of the House of Commons, that only *seventeen* persons had been convicted of issuing forged notes in Ireland in the *three* years ending with 1820. Although, therefore, we do not pretend to be acquainted with the nature of the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the Directors of the Bank of England from issuing the improved notes, of which so much has been said, there are certainly very strong reasons for doubting whether they can be so formidable as has been represented. It is a very mistaken notion to suppose, as the Directors of the Bank of England seem to have done, that nothing less than the issue of *inimitable* notes can be of any real service. This is a degree of perfection to which it is in vain to expect to attain. Whatever has been executed by one set of artists, *may* be imitated by some other set. But, provided this imitation be rendered, as it may

money—an abatement from the innumerable advantages of which it has been productive. Whatever commodity may be adopted to serve as a circulating medium, it must, in the nature of things, be a hopeless task to attempt to guard completely against the efforts of the issuers of spurious money. If the currency consists of paper, it will be counterfeited, and if it consists of the precious metals, they will be adulterated and debased. All that can be done is to throw obstacles in the way of forgery—to render it, if possible, a work of extreme difficulty; and there is no good reason for supposing that it would be more difficult to do this with notes than with coins. Indeed, the very contrary seems to be established. No scheme for the improvement of the coinage has had the same success in preventing the issue of spurious coins, that Mr Oldham's inventions have had in preventing the issue of forged notes. In reasoning on this subject, we have been led into error by referring exclusively to the paper of the Bank of England. But the difficulties opposed to the issue of forged paper must be estimated by the success which forgers have had in imitating the *best*, and not the *worst* notes in circulation. And if we refer to this criterion—if, for example, we take the improved notes of the Bank of Ireland, or of the Scotch Banks for a standard, instead of the *unimproved* notes of the Bank of England, it will be found that the security of the public against fraud and imposition is anything but impaired by the issue of paper."

be, a work of very great difficulty, the public interests will be sufficiently protected. Notes which can only be counterfeited by the best engravers, will very rarely be counterfeited at all, and never in such numbers as to be productive of any seriously injurious consequences. Forgery, it must be remembered, is an evil inseparable from the use of money—an abatement from the innumerable advantages of which it has been productive. Whatever commodity may be adopted as a circulating medium, it must, in the nature of things, be a hopeless task to attempt completely to guard against the issuers of spurious money. If the currency consists of paper, it will be counterfeited, and if it consists of the precious metals, they will be adulterated and debased. All that can be done, is to throw obstacles in the way of forgery—to render it, if possible, a work of extreme difficulty; and there is no good reason for supposing that it would be more difficult to do this with notes than with coins. Indeed, the very contrary seems to be established. No scheme for the improvement of the coinage has had the same success in preventing the issue of spurious coins, that Mr Oldham's inventions have had in preventing the issue of forged notes. In reasoning on this subject, we have been led into error by referring exclusively to the paper of the Bank of England. But the difficulties opposed to the issue of forged paper must be estimated by the success which forgers have had in imitating the *best*, and not the *worst* notes in circulation. And if we refer to this proper criterion—if, for example, we take the improved notes of the Bank of Ireland, instead of the *unimproved* notes of the Bank of England, as a standard, it will be found that the security of the public against fraud and imposition is anything but impaired by the issue of paper."

Let us now turn to the Scotsman of August 3, 1825, a date about five months previous to the presentment of the saving article to the Members of both Houses. Do no Members of Parliament read the Scotsman? If they do, why bother them over again with its lucubrations? But whether they do or not, why reprint, without so much as letting drop a hint, its stale

columns in a separate pamphlet, as if they were piping hot, and Mr M'Culloch feared that they might cool before the publication of the Edinburgh Review.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI: February 1826, pp. 267, 268.

"It appears, from what has been already stated, that an excessive quantity of the precious metals can never be imported into any country which allows them to be freely sent abroad, without occasioning their instant exportation. But when the currency of any particular country, as of England, consists partly of the precious metals, and partly of paper convertible into them, the effects produced by an over-issue of paper are the same as those resulting from an over-issue of gold or silver. The excess of paper will not be indicated by a depreciation, or fall in the value of paper as compared with gold; but *by a depreciation in the value of the whole currency, gold as well as paper, as compared with that of other states.* Suppose that our currency is, at this moment, at its proper level, or that the quantity of gold and paper in circulation is the exact quantity required to render any given portion of the currency of Great Britain equivalent to the same portion of the currency of the surrounding states; and suppose that, under these circumstances, an additional million of notes is issued by the Bank of England, or by the country banks. It is obvious, that this issue of paper must have precisely the same effect on the value of money, as the issue of an additional million of sovereigns. There cannot, it is clear, be any depreciation in the value of paper as compared with gold; for gold may be immediately obtained in exchange for it, and it is as readily received in all payments throughout the country. The effect of increased issues of notes, immediately convertible into gold, is not, therefore, to cause any discrepancy between the value of paper and the value of gold in the home market, but to increase the amount of the currency, and, by rendering it redundant or depreciated as compared with that of other countries, to depress the *nominal* exchange; and thus, inasmuch as notes do not circulate abroad, to cause the exportation of coin, and, consequently, a drain upon the Bank."

SCOTSMAN, August 3, 1825.

"If the currency of countries having an intercourse together consisted exclusively of the precious metals, it is evident they could not be accumulated to excess in any country, which allows them to be freely sent abroad, without occasioning their instant exportation. But suppose that the currency of any particular country, as England, instead of consisting exclusively of the precious metals, consists partly of them and partly of paper immediately convertible into them. In this case, if paper be issued in excess, that excess will not be indicated by a depreciation in the value of paper as compared with gold, but by a depreciation of the whole currency as compared with the currency of other states. In the circumstances under which we are now placed, an issue of two hundred thousand Bank of England five pound notes has precisely the same effect on the value of money, as if an additional million of sovereigns were thrown upon the market. The notes are of the same value as gold; for gold may immediately be obtained in exchange for them, and they are as readily received in all payments throughout the country. The effect of increased issues of notes immediately convertible into gold is not to cause any discrepancy between the value of paper and the value of gold in the home market, but to increase the amount of the currency, or to render it redundant as compared with that of other countries; and thus, inasmuch as notes do not circulate abroad, to cause the exportation of coin, and, consequently, a drain upon the Bank."

Mr M'Culloch is rather more orderly in his article in the Review than in his article in the Scotsman. Indeed the latter is miserably ill written and confused; but a little trouble suffices to detect the parallel passages.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 268.

"During most previous drains, the market price of builion had exceeded its mint price, or, which is the same thing, paper had been depreciated as compared with gold: and there was, of course, an obvious advantage in demanding cash from the Bank. But such was not the case during the late drain; nor has it been the case any time during the last five years. The notes of the Bank of England have been, ever since 1820, of the same value as the coin that has circulated along with them. And it has been stated, that when the late drain for bullion began, the Directors of the Bank of England, or at least a considerable portion of them, contended that, from whatever causes it might have arisen, it could not be owing to their paper being in excess; for had that been the case, their notes would have been at a discount; and that were they, under such circumstances, to contract their issues, they would be only causing embarrassment in the commercial world, without stopping the drain for bullion."

SCOTSMAN, August 3, 1825.

"During most previous drains, the market price of bullion exceeded the mint price, or the price at which the Bank are obliged to give gold in exchange for their notes, and, of course, there was an obvious advantage in demanding it of them. Such, however, is not the case at present, nor has it been the case any time during the last three years. The notes of the Bank of England are now of exactly the same value as the coin that circulates along with them. There is not, in fact, at this moment, the slightest depreciation in the value of Bank of England paper as compared with gold; and the Directors, or rather that portion of them who know anything of the principles of their business, contend, as we are informed, that from whatever causes the drain may have arisen, it cannot be owing to their paper being in excess, for if it were, their notes would be at a discount; and that to contract their issues, would only be to cause embarrassment in the commercial world, without stopping the drain for bullion."

Flinging aside the Scotsman of August 3, 1825, let us take up the Scotsman for September 10, 1825, and we find a bit more materiel for the celebrated Gift to the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 279.

"But whatever mistakes the Directors of the Bank may have committed, and none will accuse us of having any wish to conceal or palliate them, we have not the remotest idea that the injurious effects that have resulted from their proceedings would have been, as many suppose, in the slightest degree mitigated, had there been several such establishments in London. Suppose another metropolitan bank for the issue

SCOTSMAN, September 10, 1825.

"We have not, however, the remotest idea that the injurious effects that have resulted from the erroneous proceedings of the Bank would have been in the least degree avoided, had there been a multiplicity of such establishments in London. On the contrary, we think it would be the easiest thing in the world to show that they would have been a good deal aggravated had such been the case. Though Messrs

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of notes had been in existence during the last two years, and that some of our first monied men, as Messrs Baring, Rothschild, &c. had been at its head; we venture to say, that though the present state of our pecuniary affairs might have, in consequence, been much more unfavourable than it really is, it could not have been in any degree improved. Had Messrs Baring & Co. discounted at a lower rate of interest than the Bank of England has done, or had they negotiated bills refused by the Directors of that Establishment, there must, of course, have been a greater quantity of their paper afloat than has been of the Bank's. But it is evident that, under such circumstances, the redundancy of the currency and the drain for bullion would have been proportionally greater: and it would, in consequence, have been necessary to make a more considerable reduction in the amount of the currency, which would have unavoidably occasioned a still more serious revulsion: And if, on the other hand, Messrs Baring & Co. had not discounted at so low a rate of interest as the Bank of England, or been more scrupulous about the quality of the bills discounted, their issues would have been so confined as not sensibly to affect those of the Bank; and the currency would have been in the exact state that it now is."

SCOTSMAN, September 10, 1825.

Rothschild, Baring, &c. had been at the head of another metropolitan bank for the issue of notes, we venture to say that the state of the currency could not have been in any respect better, though it might have been much worse than it now is. Had Messrs Rothschild, Baring, & Co. discounted at a lower rate of interest than the Bank of England has done, there would have been a greater amount of their paper in the market than of the Bank's. But, under such circumstances, the redundancy of the currency and the drain for bullion would have been proportionally great; and it would, in consequence, have been necessary to make a much more considerable reduction in the amount of paper afloat, which would have unavoidably occasioned a more serious revulsion: And if, on the other hand, Messrs Rothschild, Baring & Co. had not discounted at so low a rate of interest as the Bank of England, none but spendthrifts and prodigals would have borrowed of them; their issues would not have sensibly affected those of the Bank; and the currency would have been in the exact state that it now is."

Flinging aside the Scotsman for September 10, 1825, let us take up the Scotsman for December 17, 1825, and here we find considerable materiel for the celebrated Gift to the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1826, p. 270.

"The truth is, that the late distresses cannot have taken any one by surprise, who is at all familiar either with the principles or the practical operation of our money system; and we have access to know that they were confidently predicted, and calculated upon by the most experienced merchants. So long, indeed, as all in-

SCOTSMAN,
December 17, 1825.

"The truth is, that the present distresses cannot have taken any one by surprise, who is at all familiar either with the principles or the practical operation of our money system; and we have access to know that they were confidently anticipated by several very extensive merchants. So long, indeed, as all individuals who choose are per-

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dividuals who choose are permitted to issue notes without restriction, to serve as money in the common transactions of life, so long may we lay our account with experiencing a regular recurrence of similar distress and ruin. In periods when confidence is high, and prices on the advance, country bankers are sure, under the present system, to over-issue. Every individual is then naturally inclined to extend his business; and most of those who possess produce are desirous to obtain loans to enable them to withhold it from market, and to speculate upon an advance; while, at the same time, the country bankers, whose profits depend chiefly on the amount of their paper in circulation, are, on their part, no less disposed to make liberal advances, and to lend to all who can give them a reasonable security for repayment. In such periods, not only do the old-established Houses add greatly to their issues, but new ones are every now and then coming into the field, who, from a natural desire to get their paper into circulation, are necessarily less scrupulous in their investigations with respect to the circumstances of the applicants for loans. From 1809 up to 1813 inclusive, the facility of obtaining discounts from the country banks was so very great, that individuals who could barely afford to buy a stamp for a bill, very often succeeded in obtaining the command of a considerable capital; and, as they had nothing of their own to lose, boldly adventured upon the most hazardous speculations!"

SCOTSMAN, December 17, 1825.

mitted to issue notes without restriction, to serve as money in the common transactions of life, so long may we lay our account with experiencing a recurrence of similar distress and ruin. The source of the evil does not lie in the use of paper money, but in allowing it to be issued by those who are not possessed of capital to pay their notes. In periods when confidence is high, and prices are on the advance, country bankers are sure, under the present system, to over-issue. Every individual is then naturally inclined to extend his business; and most of those who possess produce are desirous to obtain loans to enable them to withhold it from market, and to speculate on an advance; while, at the same time, the country bankers, whose profits depend on the amount of their paper in circulation, are equally disposed to make liberal advances, and to lend to all who can give them a reasonable security for repayment. In such periods, not only do the old banking houses add greatly to the amount of their issues, but new ones are every now and then coming into the field, who, from a natural desire to get their paper into circulation, are necessarily less scrupulous in their investigations with respect to the circumstances of the applicants for loans, than the old and long established houses. In 1811 and 1812, the facility of obtaining discounts from the country banks was so very great, that individuals who could barely afford to buy a stamp for a bill, very often succeeded in obtaining the command of a considerable capital; and as they had nothing of their own to lose, boldly adventured upon the most hazardous speculations!"

There then ensues confusion worse confounded, both in the Review and the Scotsman; but, by dropping out a few sentences from the Review, we get the next parallel passages to run thus:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. p. 272, Feb. 1826.

"But while the issues of country banks are thus, on the one hand, sure to be unduly enlarged when prices are rising and confidence high, they are, on the other, as sure to be unduly and *suddenly* contracted when prices experience any very serious fall, or when any very serious shock is given to commercial confidence. The fall of prices that took place in the autumn of 1813, in consequence of the luxuriant harvest of that year, and of the renewed intercourse with the continent, produced a destruction of country bank paper that has not been paralleled except only by the late revulsion. In 1814, 1815, and 1816, no fewer than NINETY-TWO commissions of bankruptcy were issued against English country banks, and *one* in every *seven and a half* of the total number of these establishments existing in 1813, was entirely destroyed! The late Mr Horner, the accuracy and extent of whose information on such subjects will not be disputed, stated, in his place in the House of Commons, that the destruction of country bank paper in 1815 and 1816 had given rise to a universality of wretchedness and misery, which had never been equalled, except perhaps by the breaking up of the Mississippi scheme in France."

SCOTSMAN. December 17, 1825.

"But while the issues of the country banks are thus, on the one hand, sure to be unduly enlarged when prices are rising and confidence high, they are, on the other, as sure to be unduly and suddenly contracted when prices experience any very serious fall, or when any very serious shock is given to commercial credit. The heavy fall of prices that took place subsequently to the opening of the Dutch ports, and the renewal of the intercourse with the continent in the autumn of 1813, produced a destruction of bank paper that has seldom been paralleled. In 1814, 1815, and 1816, no fewer than *ninety-two* commissions of bankruptcy were issued against English country banks; and *one* in every *seven and a half* of the total number of these establishments existing in 1813, were entirely destroyed, at the same time that the issues of all the rest were very much reduced. The late Mr Horner stated, and most truly, in his place in the House of Commons, that the ruin occasioned by these bankruptcies had never been exceeded, except only by the breaking up of the Mississippi scheme in France!"

By the way, Mr M'Culloch has an extraordinary knack of treasuring up in his memory single sentences of his own composition remarkable for their strength or beauty. Thus, in December 1818, he had written, "Thousands who but a twelvemonth before considered themselves wealthy, at once sunk, as if by enchantment, and without any fault of their own, into the abyss of poverty." And in February 1826, he exclaims, "Thousands upon thousands who, in 1813, considered themselves as affluent, found that they were destitute of all real property; and sunk, as if by enchantment, and without any fault of their own, into the abyss of poverty." This reminds one of a dog hiding a bone in the ground, and digging it up again when his memory is sharpened by his appetite. Another screed—

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1826, pp. 174, 275.

"It is certainly true, that in 1814, 1815, 1816, and previously, the notes of the Bank of England, and of the country banks, were not payable in gold at the pleasure of the holder. But the circumstance of their being now so payable, does not, and cannot possibly prevent those destructive oscillations in the amount of country paper, though its tendency is to lessen the extent to which they can be carried. But though *one part* of our currency cannot, under our present system, become redundant, as compared with the other, *the whole currency*, gold as well as paper, may become redundant, and will consequently sink in value, as *compared with the currency of other countries*, either from too great issues being made by the Bank of England, or by the country banks.

"We have no means by which to form any estimate of the addition made to the amount of country paper in circulation during the last three years; but it is abundantly certain, from the sudden reduction that took place in the rate of interest, and from the facility with which discounts were everywhere obtained, that it was very great; and we may mention, that we have heard gentlemen of much experience in banking state, that they were fully convinced, that the amount of country notes in circulation in 1825 was at least from *thirty to forty* per cent greater than their amount in 1822! It was this excessive addition to the currency, that rendered it redundant, and caused a drain for bullion. And this drain having forced the Bank of England to narrow her issues, a shock was in consequence given to credit; the currency of the metropolis became more valuable than that of the country; and the difficulty of obtaining accommodations in London being increased at the very moment that the notes of the country bankers were beginning to be returned upon them, their embarrassments and ruin inevitably followed."

SCOTSMAN.
December 17, 1825.

"It is true, that in 1813, 1814, and 1815, and previously, the notes of the Bank of England were not payable in gold at the pleasure of the holder; but the circumstance of their being now so payable, does not and cannot possibly prevent those destructive oscillations in the amount of the provincial paper, though it certainly lessens the extent to which they can be carried. Under our present system, the whole currency of the country, gold as well as paper, may become redundant, and will consequently sink in value, as compared with the currency of other countries, either from too great issues being made by the Bank of England, or by the country banks. That the currency was so depreciated lately is certain; and we have not the shadow of a doubt that that depreciation was owing infinitely more to over-issues by the country banks, than to any over-issue on the part of the Bank of England. In proof of this we may mention, that we have heard gentlemen of very great experience in banking state, that they were fully convinced, that from *thirty to forty* per cent had been added to the amount of country paper in circulation in Great Britain during the last three years. It was this excessive addition to the currency that rendered it redundant, and caused the drain for bullion. And this drain having forced the Bank of England to narrow her issues, a shock was in consequence given to credit; the currency of London became more valuable than that of the country; and the difficulty of obtaining accommodations in London having been increased at the very moment that the notes of the country bankers were beginning to be returned upon them, the embarrassments and difficulties of the latter inevitably followed."

A few more short excerpts from the Review and the Scotsman, and then good day, for the present, to Mr M'Culloch's celebrated Essay on the Banking System in England, so patriotically circulated among Ministers and Members, for the salvation of our country.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1826, p. 280.

"When the agitation caused by the present storm has subsided, and confidence been once more restored, the seeds of future mischief will begin to germinate. The experience of the present crisis will be very soon forgotten; the country banks will again become exceedingly liberal in their discounts; their paper will gradually become redundant; a drain for gold on the Bank of England will be the consequence; and as that establishment must, in self-defence, contract its issues, a fresh period of bankruptcy will be the ultimate and inevitable result!"

SCOTSMAN.
December 17, 1825.

"When the present storm has blown over, and the currency of the country been once more reduced to its proper quantity, if there be no change made in the constitution of the country banks, the same miserable series will again recommence. Confidence and a spirit of speculation will again revive. The experience of the present crisis will very soon be forgotten; the country banks will again become exceedingly liberal in their discounts; their paper will thus gradually become redundant; a drain for gold on the Bank of England will be the consequence; and as that establishment must, in self-defence, contract its issues, a fresh period of bankruptcy and ruin will be the result!"

In the Review, and in the Scotsman, he considers the different plans proposed to improve the system of banking in England. But as he unmercifully spins out, into a long page of the Review, what might have been said in three short sentences, we shall omit a vast load of lumber, and the account stands thus:

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1826, pp. 281, 282.

"I. With respect to the *first*, there can be little doubt that the repeal of the injurious and absurd restriction, by which more than *six* individuals are prevented from joining in any copartnery for the issue of notes, would be a considerable improvement on the existing system. It would most probably lead to the formation of banking companies with a considerable number of partners in most of the great commercial towns. The fact is, as any one who has ever reflected a moment on the subject must be aware, that there must always be

SCOTSMAN.
December 17, 1825.

"The repeal of the injurious and absurd restriction which has obtained for more than a century in England, by which more than *six* individuals are prevented from entering into any copartnery for the issue of notes, has been suggested as a remedy for the evils complained of. But though this repeal would, by allowing the formation of great joint-stock banking companies possessed of adequate capital, be a very great improvement on the existing system, we are very far indeed from thinking that it would, of itself, be sufficient.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.

infinitely more hazard in conducting the business of banking in England than in Scotland. The business that is carried on in Edinburgh, and other parts of the country, is either confined to a retail trade, or to the sale of produce, by the growers, to merchants from England, or to dealers scattered through the country. The situation of these persons is generally well known to the bankers with whom they deal, who must be very careless indeed, if they ever lose anything considerable by them. It would be worse than idle to attempt to prove, by argument, the vast difference in the situation of such persons as compared with that of a very large proportion of the merchants and manufacturers of England. The foreign trade of Liverpool only, is equal to about *five* times that of all Scofland; and we are quite sure we are a good deal within the mark when we affirm, that there is more speculation in Lancashire in a week, than there is in Scotland in a twelvemonth."

SCOTSMAN, December 17, 1825.

There must always be infinitely more hazard in conducting the business of banking in a highly commercial country like England, than in Scotland; and nothing can be more absurd than to argue, that because few of the Scotch banks have failed, they would therefore succeed equally well in England! There is more speculation in Lancashire in a single week, than there is in Scotland in a twelvemonth; and the risk incurred by the banking establishments there must be proportionally great."

A joint stock company of six hundred thousand would be a novelty. But in the following parallel passages Mr M'Culloch is facetious:—

EDINBURGH REVIEW, NO. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 285.

" The fact is, that no company, whether it consists of six or six thousand partners, ought to have the power to issue notes at pleasure: For, you can have no security that they will not abuse this power; at the same time that it is certain, that the ruin occasioned by the bankruptcy, or the caprice, of any establishment, will most commonly be directly proportioned to the number of its partners, and the credit and confidence it has enjoyed."

SCOTSMAN, December 17, 1825.

" The fact is, that no company, whether it consists of *six* or *six hundred thousand* partners, ought to be permitted to issue notes at pleasure. For, you can have no security that they will not abuse the power to do so; at the same time that it is certain, that the ruin occasioned by the bankruptcy of any establishment will most commonly be directly proportioned to the number of its partners, and the credit and confidence it has enjoyed."

The plan of making country Banks find security for the payment of their issues, is then treated of in both articles; but let our extracts conclude with the following strong paragraph.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1820.

"There can be no doubt that a large proportion of the bankers, and landholders, and all that vile brood of gamblers with which London and the other great towns throughout the empire are gorged, will adopt every means in their power to prolong the existing system. But the opposition of these persons to the change we have recommended, will be one of the strongest proofs of its expediency. And if ministers do their duty, and the public be not grossly deficient in theirs, the ensuing Session will not be allowed to elapse without that change being effected in the banking system which is so highly necessary."

SCOTSMAN,
December 17, 1825.

"It is in vain to tamper with the existing system. Nothing but the adoption of the plan now proposed can ever give effectual security to the public, or put an end to the present ruinous alternations. A thorough change of the present system will also, by giving steadiness of value to money, go far to extinguish that vile brood of gamblers, with which London and other great towns are gorged, who live by disseminating all manner of falsehoods, and by speculating on those variations in the price of the public funds, and the funds of the different joint-stock companies, that are almost wholly occasioned by the changes in the value of money. That these persons will raise a clamour against the change now proposed, is certain; but the fact of their doing so, and of its being opposed by the country bankers, will afford the strongest proof of its necessity and expediency."

Let us take another glance over No. 86, now that it is in our hand; ay, here is an article of Mr M'Culloch's on the Timber Trade. Surely—we have laboured under the "heavy and importunate load" of this article in our younger days. Six years ago, or thereabouts, did we bear it upon our shoulders. Here is the Scotsman of July 8, 1820.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI.
February 1826, pp. 343—5.

"Now it appears from the accounts inserted in Mr Oddy's European Commerce (p. 398), that the value of the commodities exported from Great Britain to the countries contiguous to the Baltic, in 1803, amounted to L.5,427,542; and that in the same year 4123 British ships passed the Sound at Elsineur. Mr Oddy thinks, that at this epoch the total average value of the exports from the ports of the Baltic and Norway to foreign countries, amounted, *exclusive of corn*, to about TWELVE MILLIONS, and that *two thirds* at least of this trade was then in possession of the British. Iron and wood, which were almost entirely taken by this country, are estimated to have ormed nearly *a fourth* part of the en-

SCOTSMAN,
July 8, 1820.

"It appears from authentic accounts inserted in Oddy's European Commerce (page 398), that in 1803 the value of the commodities exported from Great Britain to the countries bordering on the Baltic amounted to L.5,427,542; and that in the same year 4123 British ships passed the Sound at Elsineur. Mr Oddy thinks, that at this epoch the total average value of the exports from the ports on the Baltic and Norway to foreign countries, amounted, *exclusive of corn*, to about TWELVE MILLIONS, and that at least *two-thirds* of this trade was then in possession of the British. Iron and wood, which were almost entirely taken by this country, are estimated to have

tire exports, and about *two thirds* of those from the ports of Sweden and Norway. During the following six years the trade continued to improve; and in 1809, the year when Mr Vansittart commenced his operations, no fewer than 428,000 tons of British shipping were employed in it, being between *a fourth and a fifth part of the whole mercantile navy of Great Britain!*

"Had this trade met with the encouragement and protection from the Legislature to which its vast importance gave it so just a claim, or had it even been let alone, there can be no doubt that it would have formed, for ages to come, one of the main sources of our commercial prosperity. The nations round the Baltic have made little progress in manufacturing industry. They abound in valuable raw products; but they are wholly destitute as well of the finer species of manufactured commodities, as of colonies. Nor have they any inducement to endeavour directly to supply themselves with the former, or to establish the latter. Their iron and copper mines, their vast forests, and their immense tracts of fertile and hitherto uncultivated land, afford much more advantageous and ready investments for their scanty and deficient capital, than could be found in manufactures or foreign trade. The Northern nations must long find their advantage in exchanging their raw for the wrought products of other countries; and nothing but their own misconduct, or their being undersold by others, can ever deprive those who have been in the habit of supplying them with manufactured goods, of so extensive and valuable a market.

"But of all the countries in the world, there is obviously none which has so many facilities for carrying on an advantageous commerce with the North as Great Britain. We have an excess of all those commodities of which Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway stand most in need; and, on the other hand, they have an excess of many of those of which we are nearly destitute. The vast and advantageous traffic we formerly carried on

formed nearly one-fourth of the entire exports; and about two-thirds of those of Sweden and Norway. In 1809, no fewer than 428,000 tons of British shipping were employed in the Baltic trade, or between ONE-FOURTH and ONE-FIFTH *part of the whole mercantile navy of Great Britain.* Had this trade met with that encouragement and protection from the Legislature to which its vast importance so justly entitled it, or, which would have been much better, had it been let alone, there can be little doubt it would, for ages to come, have formed one of the main sources of our commercial prosperity. The nations round the Baltic have made no progress in manufacturing industry. They abound in valuable raw products; but they are entirely destitute of the finer species of artificial and colonial products. Nor have they any inducement to endeavour to supply themselves with these commodities. Their iron and copper mines, their forests, and their immense tracts of fertile and hitherto uncultivated land, afford much more advantageous and ready investments for their scanty and deficient capital, than could be found in manufactures or foreign trade. The northern nations must long find their advantage in exchanging their raw for the wrought products of other countries; and nothing but their own misconduct, or their being undersold by others, can ever deprive those who have been in the habit of supplying them with manufactured goods, of so extensive and valuable a market.

"But, of all the countries in the world, there is obviously none which has so many facilities for carrying on a mutually beneficial commerce with the North as Great Britain. We have an excess of all those commodities of which Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway stand most in need; and, on the other hand, they are nearly destitute of those of which we have the greatest supply. The immense traffic which we formerly carried on with the Baltic, did not, therefore, in the least depend on factitious circumstances. It was founded on the gratification of real

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with the Baltic, did not, therefore, in any degree depend on artificial or accidental circumstances. It did not rest on the miserable foundation of bounties and drawbacks, but on the gratification of real and mutual wants and desires: And had it not been violently interfered with, it must have continued to increase with every increase of the productive powers, or of the means of purchasing of either party. It has been justly remarked by the Marquis Garnier, the excellent translator and annotator of the Wealth of Nations, that no inconsiderable portion of the increased power and wealth of England may be traced to the growing power and opulence of Russia. But the Russian Empire is yet only in the infancy of civilization; she must continue, for a very long period, to advance in the career of improvement, and it will be our own fault if we do not reap still greater advantages from her progress."

SCOTSMAN, July 8, 1820.

and mutual wants and desires; and had it not been violently interfered with, must have continued to increase with every increase of the productive powers, or, which is the same thing, of the means of purchasing of either party. Garnier, the French translator of the Wealth of Nations, has justly remarked, that no inconsiderable portion of the increased power and wealth of England may be traced to the increased power and wealth of Russia. But, as the Russian empire must for a very long period continue to advance in the career of improvement, it will be our own fault if we do not in future reap still greater advantages from its progress than we have done during the last century."

And again, passing over various other parallel passages in the article, and in the Scotsman of July 8, 1820, and various other numbers of that newspaper—behold!

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXVI. February 1826, p. 345.

"In 1814, the year after the 25 per cent additional duty on timber had been imposed, and when all the ports of the Baltic were open to our ships, there were only 242,000 tons of British shipping employed in that very trade, which, as we have already seen, had in 1809, the year when the first increase of duties took place, employed 428,000 tons. In 1816, we had only 181,000 tons employed in the Baltic trade; and the shipping employed in it in 1819, the fourth year of a profound peace, was still 55,000 tons short of what it had been during the hottest period of the war!"

SCOTSMAN, July 8, 1820.

"In 1814, the year after the 25 per cent additional duty on timber was imposed, there were only 242,000 tons of British shipping employed in the Baltic trade, which, as we have already seen, had, in 1809, the year before the first increase of the duties, employed 428,000 tons. In 1816, we had only 181,000 tons in this trade; and the shipping employed in it last year, being the fourth of a profound peace, was still 54,000 tons short of that employed in 1809."

What a collection of old stale stuff is every one individual article of Mr M'Culloch's in the Edinburgh Review? Can Mr Jeffrey be aware of the system on which he proceeds in the getting up of his contributions? Impossible.

In the summer of 1825, Mr M'Culloch was examined before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland. By whom he was selected to enlighten the said Committee, we know not; but this we know, that the selection was felt over the whole country to be most truly absurd. It appeared from his answer to one of the first questions put to him, that he had never been in Ireland in his life. Now, although a person of Mr M'Culloch's abilities, which are considerable, may, from books and men, have collected much information about Ireland, without having set foot on its shores, one does not see on what principle a Parliamentary Committee could have thought of applying to such a person for especial illumination on the dark and troubled state of that country. We do not say that general views and theoretical reasonings were what the Committee did not want; or that Mr M'Culloch was incompetent to give them a lecture; but we do say, that their chief object was to gain sound, deep, accurate, minute, and comprehensive knowledge of the state of Ireland; such knowledge as could be given them only by an Irishman who had lived all his life in Ireland. The absurdity of the Committee summoning before them Mr M'Culloch, the Ex-Editor of the Scotsman, was not greater than it would have been for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to have summoned before them Mr Lawless, the Editor of the Irishman, to enlighten them on the best means of educating the Highlands of Scotland.

But not to dwell on this palpable absurdity, we should like very much to know on what grounds the Committee brought Mr M'Culloch before them at all? The answer we shall suppose to be—because he had written several able articles in the Edinburgh Review about Ireland. Why, then, could not the Committee read those articles? Why did they not read those articles? And if they not only could read, but had read those articles, why pray, get Mr M'Culloch to indulge in his favourite pastime in their presence, of repeating over and over again *viva voce* all he had written in the Review? He did so with a vengeance. For the truth is, his examination is a screed here, and a screed there, of his articles put into the form of question and answer. He had evidently thrown aside the scissars, and trusted to his memory—and accordingly he was speaking almost all the time verbatim out of the Scotsman and the Edinburgh Review. Had the Committee known this, they must have both felt and looked a little foolish—but the Committee, we shall suppose, had never read the

Scotsman nor the Edinburgh Review—that is, they had never read the only works on which, nevertheless, was founded Mr M'Culloch's reputation as a Political Economist,—the only works on the credit of which they had called him up before them for examination!

But now for a general horse-laugh over the United Empire at Mr M'Culloch, at the Committee, and at all pretended Students of the science of Political Economy.

We all recollect what a prodigious sensation was created by Mr M'Culloch's opinions respecting Irish Absenteeism. The Committee were astounded—the country stood aghast. The daring novelty of the paradox roused all the political economists from their lairs, and we began to have serious apprehensions even for Mr M'Culloch's personal safety—his Irish enemies raging against him, even as if they would have torn him piecemeal, and scattered his disjointed members as manure over the potato-gardens, against which his tongue had so long fiercely wagged. Now, all this sudden storm might have been spared, had those persons who pretend to study Statistics and Political Economy, and whose rage was roused by such destructive doctrines, known that Mr M'Culloch was doing no more than repeating, according to his usual wont and practice, over and over and over again, opinions which he had been promulgating with all the weight of his great talents and great name, through summer's heat and winter's cold, for six long, dreary, slow revolving years!

But now for the horse-laugh. Mr M'Culloch comes forward like a hero to squabash his opponents, in an article of the Edinburgh Review, No. LXXXV. for November 1825, entitled Absenteeism. A few months before, in his published evidence before the same Committee, he had startled the politico-economical world from sleep by the most unheard-of harangues. A hundred quills were drawn against him, and, as we said, he comes forward like a hero, quite on the spur of the occasion, all glittering in new-forged mail, and "weapon tempered in the Ebro's flood," a monstrous Ferrara, that would in one sweep smite off the heads of Signor Francalanza or Mr Roland.

All the subscribers to the Edinburgh Review put their mouths to each other's ears, and asked in whispers, eager and elate, "Have you seen Mr M'Culloch's glorious article, Absenteeism?" To such questions, so whispered into our ear by the gossiping mouth of an old Whig friend, for whom we en-

tertain a most particular esteem, we bauled out, "Ay—we saw it four years ago in the Scotsman."

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXV. November 1825, p. 55—58.

"Absentee landlords are said to be injurious, *first*, because they spend that wealth in another country, which, had it been spent at home, would have enriched and afforded employment to a great number of tradesmen, labourers, and industrious people: And, *second*, because the country is deprived of the moral benefits that would have resulted from their residence, and the peasantry left to be fleeced and plundered by those who have no permanent interest in their welfare, and whose only object is to enrich themselves. We shall offer a few remarks on each of these heads.

"With regard to the *first*, or the disadvantage supposed to be occasioned by the landlords spending their incomes in another country, it will not, we think, be difficult to show that it is altogether imaginary. The rents of the Irish absentee landlords are said to amount to *three*, or *three and a half*, millions. We suspect that this statement is very much exaggerated; but assuming it to be accurate, the primary question is,—how are these rents remitted to them? Now, as there is very little specie in Ireland, and as Irish bank-notes do not circulate in England, it is obvious that they can be remitted in one way only, and that is, by sending abroad an equivalent amount of the *raw produce*, or *manufactures*, of the country. Were all the absentees to return to Ireland, there would, no doubt, be an increased demand for commodities, or labour, or both, in the home market, to the extent of three or three and a half millions. But it is undeniably certain, that *this increase* of demand in the *home* market would be balanced by a precisely equal *diminution* of demand in the *foreign* market: And unless it can be shown, that foreign merchants trade for smaller profits than the home merchants, we must be satisfied, on the first blush of the matter, that the expenditure of those

SCOTSMAN, January 12, 1822.

"Absentee landlords are said to be injurious, *first*, because they spend that wealth in another country which, had it been spent at home, would have been the means of enriching and affording employment to a great number of merchants and of industrious people; and, *secondly*, because the country is deprived of the moral benefits that would result from their residence, and the peasantry left to be fleeced and plundered by those who have no permanent interest in their welfare, and whose only object is to enrich themselves. We shall offer a few remarks on each of these heads.

"With regard to the *first*, on the disadvantages supposed to be occasioned by the landlords spending their incomes in another country, a few words will be sufficient to show that it is altogether imaginery. The rents of the Irish absentee landlords are supposed to amount to *three, or three and a half* millions; but there is almost no specie in Ireland, and Irish bank-notes do not circulate in England. How, then, are these remitted to the absentees? The answer is obvious. They can only be remitted in one way, and that is by sending abroad an equivalent amount of the *raw produce, or of the manufactures of the country*. Were all the absentees to return to Ireland, there would be an increased demand in the home market for commodities, or labour, or both, to the extent of *three*, or *three and a half* millions. But it is undeniably certain, that this increase of demand in the home market would be balanced by a precisely equivalent diminution of demand in the foreign market. And unless it could be shown, that the foreign merchants trade for smaller profits than the home merchant, which is directly contrary to the fact, we must be satisfied, on the first statement of the matter, that the expenditure of those landlords who reside in London or Paris,

landlords who reside in London or Paris, it is no matter which, has just as great an effect *in* vivifying and animating industry in Ireland, as if they resided in Dublin or Cork.

"But then it is said, that the rents of the absentees are neither remitted in specie nor in bank-notes, nor in Irish produce, but in drafts on foreign merchants, or *bills of exchange*. But what, we should like to know, is a bill of exchange? Is it not an order addressed to some individual residing in another part of the same, or in a foreign country, directing him to pay a debt he has already contracted, or is about to contract, to the drawer of the bill, to some other individual? Celebrated as the merchants of England are for their generosity, they will not, we may be assured, furnish the Irish absentees with three thousand pounds, much less with three millions, without receiving an equivalent—that is, without receiving three millions worth of Irish commodities. This, then, is the manner in which absentee expenditure operates. The agent of an absentee landlord, after receiving the rents of his tenants, say L.10,000, purchases a bill of exchange for this L.10,000 from an Irish merchant. But the merchant, in order to supply his correspondents in London, Liverpool, or Amsterdam, on whom the bill is drawn, with funds to pay it, *must*, for it is not in any respect optional with him, go into the Irish market and buy L.10,000 worth of the raw products or manufactured goods of the country, and send them abroad to his correspondent. Where, then, is the difference to Ireland, in so far as the demand for commodities is concerned, whether the landlord is or is not resident? When he is resident, he will receive L.10,000 from his tenants, and he will go to market and buy an equal amount of Irish corn, beef, hats, shoes, &c.: And, when he is not resident, a merchant gets the L.10,000, and lays out every sixpence of them in the purchase of Irish commodities, just as the landlord did when he was at home. Turn it and twist it as you please, you will it is no matter which, has just as great an effect in vivifying and animating industry in Ireland, as if they resided in Dublin or Cork.

"We shall be told, however, that the rents are neither remitted in specie, nor in bank-notes, nor in Irish produce, but in drafts on foreign merchants, or *bills of exchange*. But what, we should like to know, is a bill of exchange? Is it not an order addressed to some individual, directing him to pay a debt *previously contracted* to some other individual? Celebrated as the merchants of England are for their generosity, they will not, we may depend upon it, furnish the Irish absentees with three thousand pounds, much less with three millions, without receiving an equivalent—that is, without receiving an equivalent amount of Irish commodities. Here, then, is the manner in which absentee expenditure operates: the agent of the landlord purchases from a merchant a bill of exchange equal to the rent he has to remit. But the merchant, in order to supply his correspondent with funds to pay the bill, *must*, for it is not optional with him, buy from the Irish agriculturists or manufacturers, produce of equal value to send to London. Is it not, then, perfectly indifferent to Ireland, or to any country, whether the landlord resides in it or not? If he is resident, his revenue will be *directly* expended by himself in the purchase of commodities. If he is not resident, it will be *indirectly* expended by the intervention of an agent or merchant. This is the entire difference, in so far as expenditure is concerned, between a landlord who resides and a landlord who is an absentee. The one lays out his rents in the purchase of Irish commodities, which he imports into his own house in Ireland, and consumes there; the other lays them out in the purchase of Irish commodities, which he imports into, and consumes in London or Paris. And, therefore, if it cannot be proved, that the *mere act of consumption* is advantageous—that the spectacle of a feast can feed men

find, on analysing any case that can possibly be presented, that this is *the whole* difference, in so far as expenditure is concerned, between a resident and a non-resident landlord. The one exchanges his revenue for Irish commodities, which he imports into his house in Dublin, and consumes there; the other also, through the merchant who furnishes him with bills, exchanges his for Irish commodities, which, or the equivalents for which, he imports into, and consumes in his house in London or Paris; and, therefore, unless it can be proved that the mere local act of consumption is advantageous—we must acknowledge, that the consumption of that portion of the annual revenue of a nation, which is sent abroad to absentees, contributes as much to the general advantage as the consumption of any other portion of income. It is never, in short, by sending abroad *revenue*, but by sending abroad the *capital*, by whose agency revenue is produced, that nations are impoverished and ruined.

Even if the rents of the Irish absentees were remitted to them in specie, that would not in the least affect the previous reasoning. Ireland has no mines of gold or silver; and, if she sends these metals to England or France, she must previously have obtained them in exchange for an equivalent amount of Irish produce; and the gain, on selling this produce to the Brazilians or Mexicans, would be quite as great as any that could have been realized by selling it to the landlords, had they resided at home. At bottom, the notions with respect to the injurious effects of absentee expenditure, differ but little from those so long prevalent with respect to the balance of trade. It is now about a century since Dr Swift, not in jest, but in good sober earnest, informed his believing and admiring countrymen, that they had only about 500,000*l.* of cash; and that *out of this scanty stock*, they had to remit a neat million a-year to England! Those who believe in the possibility of such a condition of things, may also conscientiously think, that —or that the explosion of the powder consumed in a feu-de-joie is really productive, we must acknowledge, that the consumption of that portion of the annual income of every nation which is sent abroad to absentees, contributes as much to the general wealth as the consumption of any other portion of income. It is not by sending abroad revenue, but by sending abroad the *capital*, by whose agency revenue is produced, that nations are impoverished and ruined.

"Even if the rents of the Irish absentees were remitted in specie, that would not in the least affect the question.—How is this specie obtained? Ireland has no mines of gold or silver; and if she sends these metals to England or France, she must previously have obtained them in exchange for an equivalent amount of Irish produce; and the gain on this exchange would be fully equal to the gain on the direct expenditure of the landlord, supposing him to have resided at home. The notions respecting the injurious effects of absentee expenditure are exactly of the same kind with those respecting the balance of trade. It is now about a century since Dr Swift, not in jest, but in good earnest, informed his believing and admiring countrymen, that they had only L.500,000 of cash, and that out of this scanty stock they had to remit a neat million a-year to England. Those, and those only, who believe in the possibility of such a condition of affairs, may also conscientiously think, that the ruin of Ireland is owing to the circumstance of Irish beef being eat in, and Irish linen worn in London, rather than in Dublin."

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the poverty and misery of Ireland is owing to the circumstance of Irish beef being eaten, and Irish linen worn in London or Paris, rather than in Dublin Cork!"

So much for the novelty of Mr M'Culloch's opinions on Absenteeism. Now for the Middlemen.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXV. November 1825, p. 67.

"With regard to the *second* branch of this inquiry, or that which regards the disadvantages that are said to be occasioned by the want of moral influence and example, and of that protection which it is said a landlord would afford to his tenants and dependents in a greater degree than will be done by agents or middlemen, it is not so easy to arrive at any positive conclusion. An extensive landed proprietor has undoubtedly the means, provided he has the inclination, to do a vast deal of good. 'A man of family and estate ought,' says Johnson, 'to consider himself as having the charge of a district, over which he is to diffuse civility and happiness, and to give an example of good order, virtue, and piety.' We, however, have now to deal, not with landlords as they *ought* to be, but with those of Ireland as they really *are*. The question respecting the alleged superiority of resident to absentee landlords in promoting the civilization and refinement of the country, must be decided by an inquiry into the conduct of each class; and not by inferences drawn from what that conduct ought to be. Are the estates of the absentees worse managed than the estates of resident landlords? are their tenants poorer and more exposed to oppression? are they more turbulent, and disposed to engage in illegal associations and enterprises? If they are, then non-residence must be injurious, but if not, not."

SCOTSMAN. January 12, 1822.

"With regard to the *second* branch of this inquiry, or that which regards the supposed want of moral influence, and of the protection which, it is taken for granted, a landlord would vouchsafe to his tenants in a higher degree than will be done by agents or middlemen, it is not so easy to arrive at any positive conclusion. An extensive and opulent proprietor has unquestionably the means, provided he has the inclination, of doing a vast deal of good. "A man of family and estate ought," says Dr Johnson, "to consider himself as having the charge of a district, over which he is to diffuse civility and happiness, and to give an example of good order, virtue, and piety." But our business is not with men as they *ought* to be, but as they *are*. The question respecting the supposed superiority of resident to absentee landlords, in promoting the civilization and refinement of the country, must be decided by an inquiry into the conduct of each class, and not by reasoning founded on what that conduct should be. Are the estates of the absentees worse managed than the estates of resident landlords? If they are, then non-residence must be injurious, but if not, not."

One other parallel passage of resuscitated and startling paradox, and we have done.—

EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. LXXXV.
November 1825, pp. 69, 70, 71.

"With respect to the actual management of the estates belonging to absentee proprietors, it will be found, though there are no doubt very many instances of mismanagement, that they are on the whole decidedly better managed, and are occupied by a richer and better class of tenants, than those belonging to residents. The noble estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in Wicklow, for example, consisting of about 70,000 acres, is in the highest possible state of cultivation, and is occupied by the most affluent and independent tenants of any in Ireland. And though we are aware that it would be most improper to attempt to found any general conclusion on this particular case, it would be easy to produce very many examples of the same sort, Mr Tighe, the well informed and intelligent author of the Survey of Kilkenny, a work that certainly stands at the head of that class of publications, states distinctly, that 'in *many* instances absentees are the *best landlords*,' (p. 586.) And Mr Wakefield, whose general opinions are unfavourable to non-residence, but who is too candid to conceal or colour any fact that makes against his own views, corroborates Mr Tighe's statement. The largest estate in Ireland is situated in the county of Galway, and belongs to a gentleman who resides constantly upon it; but it exhibits throughout every mark of the most wretched cultivation; 'and if,' says Mr Wakefield, 'it be compared with the estate of Lord Fitzwilliam, we shall be puzzled to find out the truth of the incessant complaints made against absentees.' (Vol. I. p. 259.) When noticing the county of Roscommon, Mr Wakefield says, that the large property belonging to the then resident proprietor, Lord ——, was the worst managed he ever saw.—'I found everywhere cabins of the most wretched aspect, infamous stone roads, very minute divisions of land, and a superabundant and miserable population. *I*

SCOTSMAN,
January 12, 1822.

"Now if we refer to this simple and decisive criterion, and do not suffer our judgments to be biassed by mere declamatory invective, we shall find, that although there are many individual instances of mismanagement, the estates of absentee landlords are, on the whole, quite as well managed as the estates of those who are resident. We mentioned, in a former number, that the noble estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in Wicklow, consisting of about 70,000 acres, is in the highest possible state of cultivation, and is occupied by the most affluent and independent tenantry of any in Ireland. We are aware, that it would be most improper to attempt to draw any general conclusion from this particular case. But it would be easy to produce many similar instances. Mr Tighe, M.P., the intelligent author of the Survey of the County of Kilkenny, a work which certainly stands at the very head of that class of publications, states distinctly, that 'in *many* instances absentees are the *best landlords*,' (p. 586.) And Mr Wakefield, whose general opinions are unfavourable to non-residence, but who is too candid to conceal or colour any fact which makes against his own views, corroborates Mr Tighe's statement. The largest estate in Ireland is situated in the county of Galway, and belongs to a gentleman, Mr ——, who constantly resides on it; but it exhibits throughout every mark of the most wretched cultivation; 'and if,' says Mr Wakefield, 'it be compared with the estate of Lord Fitzwilliam, we shall be puzzled to find out the truth of the incessant complaints made against absentees.' (Vol. I. p. 259.) When noticing the county of Roscommon, Mr Wakefield says, 'that the large property belonging to the then resident proprietor, Lord —— was the worst managed he had ever seen.'—'I found everywhere,' says he, 'cabins of the most wretched aspect, infamous stone

do not recollect to have travelled through any estate in Ireland which presented such a scene of desolation; and nothing astonished me so much as the multitude of poverty-struck inhabitants, from whom I could learn very little more than that the estate belonged to 'My Lord,' whom they loaded with imprecations.' (I. p. 274.) All resident landlords, to be sure, are not of this description, and all non-resident landlords are not Fitzwilliams; but most certainly there does not seem to be the shadow of a reason for preferring the former to the latter.

"It should also be recollected that a very large proportion of the property in Ireland belonging to absentees, is let on perpetual leases, or is, as we in Scotland would term it, *feued*. The tenants are thus, in fact, the real proprietors. Their superior has no power to interfere in the management of the estate; when his quit-rent is paid, he has no further claim on the property. A large proportion of the immense tract of country belonging to Lord Lansdowne is thus let on perpetual leases, and at a rent which does not exceed a third or a fourth of its real value. Lord Doneraile has an estate in Cork for which he gets L.2000, a year; but Mr Wakefield says that it is worth L.18,000, a year to the perpetual tenants. Lord Kenmare, one of the absentees, has an estate in the county of Kerry which brings him L.8000 a-year; but it is let on interminable leases, and his Lordship's tenants, who are the real proprietors, get a profit rent of L.40,000 a-year! Lord Powis, another absentee, has an estate in the same county, from which he gets L.1900 a-year; but it is leased for ever; and the real proprietors have lately re-let the estate for L.28,000 a-year of profit! The estate of the Chandos family, now in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, and hundreds more, are in the same predicament. And such being the case, is it at all surprising that the *nominal* owners should decline living on estates over which they have no control, and which really belong to others? When an act was passed in the reign of Henry VIII., every way worthy of the roads, very minute divisions of lands, and a superabundant and miserable population. I do not recollect to have travelled through *any estate in Ireland which presented such a scene of desolation;* and nothing astonished me so much as the multitude of poverty-struck inhabitants, from whom I could learn very little more than that the estate belonged to 'My Lord,' whom they *loaded with imprecations.*' (Vol. I. p. 274.)—All resident landlords are not ——, and all non-resident landlords are not Fitzwilliams; but certainly there does not, in point of fact, seem to be the shadow of a reason for preferring the former to the latter.

"It should also be recollected, that by far the largest portion of the property in Ireland belonging to absentees, is let on *perpetuity leases*, or, as the Scotch term it, *feued*. The tenants are thus, in fact, the real proprietors. Their superior has no power whatever to interfere in the management of the estate. When his quit-rent is paid, he has no further claim on the property. The immense tract of country belonging to the Lansdowne family in Ireland, is all let on perpetuity leases, and at a rent which does not now exceed a fourth or a fifth part of its real value. Lord Doneraile has an estate in Cork, for which he gets a perpetual rent of L.2000; but the estate is really worth L.18,000. The vast estate belonging to the Marquis of Donegall is let on leases of *sixty-one* years, and at a rent far below its real value. In the county of Kerry, Lord Kenmare, one of the absentees, has an estate which brings him L.8000 a-year; it is let on perpetuity leases, and his Lordship's tenants, who are the real proprietors, get a profit rent of L.40,000 a year! Lord Powis, another absentee, has an estate in the same county, from which he gets L.1900 a-year; but the leases are indeterminable, and the real proprietors have re-let the estate for L.28,000 a-year of profit! The estate of the Chandos family, now in possession of the Marquis of Buckingham, is all let on perpetuity leases. Now, when such is the

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period, compelling absentees to reside on their properties in Ireland under penalty of forfeiture, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Berkeley, and others, made a voluntary surrender of large tracts of land to the Crown, rather than comply with the provisions of so oppressive a statute. Should a similar act be passed at this moment, we verily believe it would have a nearly similar effect. Can it be supposed that the apprehension of the loss of L.1900 a year would be sufficient to induce Lord Powis to reside upon an estate which does not belong to him, and where he could not execute a single improvement, or make a single alteration?

"It may, however, be supposed, that when the real proprietors of estates are resident, they will be ready to remedy grievances of which an absentee must necessarily be ignorant, and that they will be ready to protect their tenants from being plundered by their agents. But this, we are sorry to say, does not really seem to be the case. On the contrary, there is good reason to conclude, that there is less fleecing and extortion practised on the tenants of absentee landlords, than on those of residents. An English nobleman or gentleman would spurn the idea of having the leases to his tenants determined by the magnitude of the presents, or, to call them by their right name, *bribes*, they had offered to his lady, his daughters, his mistress, or his agents. But *this disgraceful practice is universal in Ireland.* As a sample of the protection afforded by the resident landlords to their tenants, Mr Wakefield tells us, that when the late proprietor of one of the largest and finest estates in Ireland, appointed an agent, he borrowed of him L.20,000. The agent, who was a man of principle, and who wished it to be clearly understood how he was to be repaid, and whether he was to follow the usual custom, and extort presents and perquisites of all sorts from the tenants, asked his employer in what manner he wished him to act—'*Get all you can*,' was the short and shameful reply!" (Vol. I. p. 299.)

SCOTSMAN, January 12.

fact, is it at all surprising that the *nominal* owners should decline living on estates over which they have no control, and which really belong to others? When, in the reign of Henry VIII. an act was passed, compelling absentees to return to Ireland, under the penalty of forfeiting their estates, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Berkeley, and others, made a voluntary surrender of large tracts of lands to the Crown, rather than comply with the provisions of so absurd and so oppressive a statute. Should a similar act be passed at this moment, we believe it would have a nearly similar effect. Can it be supposed, that the apprehension of the loss of L.1900 a-year would be sufficient to induce Lord Powis to reside upon an estate which did not belong to him, and where he could not execute a single improvement, or make a single alteration?

"It may, however, be supposed, that when the real proprietors of estates are resident, they will be ready to remedy evils of which the absentee must necessarily be ignorant, and they will be disposed to protect their tenantry from oppression. But such, we regret to say, is not really the case. On the contrary, there is good reason to conclude, that there is infinitely less of fleecing and extortion practised on the tenants of absentee landlords, than in those of residents. An English nobleman or gentleman would spurn the idea of having the leases of his tenants determined by the amount of the presents they had made to his lady, his daughters, his mistress, or his agent. But we have the authority of Mr Wakefield for saying, that the disgraceful practice is almost universal in Ireland. As a sample of the protection afforded by the resident landlords to their tenants, Mr Wakefield tells us, that when the late —— appointed an agent for his estate, which is one of the largest in Ireland, he borrowed from him L.20,000. The agent, who was a man of principle, and who wished it to be clearly understood, whether he was to follow the usual custom, and to receive pre-

sents from the tenants, asked his employer in what manner he wished him to act. 'Get all you can,' was the short but emphatic reply."—Vol. I. p. 299.

We have traced almost all Mr M'Culloch's articles in the Edinburgh Review to their source in the Scotsman. There is not, we believe, a single leading article on any important question in Political Economy in the newspaper, that does not afterwards appear in propria persona in the Review, sometimes after the lapse of a few months, sometimes after the lapse of a few years. Thus, more than one-half of the article on the silk-trade, in the Edinburgh Review for November 1825, is transcribed from a two years-old Scotsman, September 1823; and the loudly trumpeted leading article in the Edinburgh, No. LXXVII., Funding System, is almost wholly a reprint of the three leading articles that appeared in the Scotsman during the previous summer. When, by any accident, an article of Mr M'Culloch's appears in the Edinburgh Review, which has not previously appeared in the Scotsman, the poor creatures who now arrange the advertisements in that newspaper, reprint it without loss of time, as if it were their own leading article, of course without any allusion to its foreign origin—as witness, "On the Combination Laws," November 12, 1825; which essay is also to be found in the Edinburgh Review, No. LXXVIII., January 1824, and of course also nearly verbatim in Mr M'Culloch's Essay on Wages, 1826.

It would be easy to gather together a hundred more parallel passages from the voluminous lucubrations of this most Economical of all the Economists; but the exhibition he has now made of himself, is sufficient to show his real character. It is not possible that the man who has acted thus, can have formed any just estimate of the dignity of the science in which his political partizans would fain represent him to be even a discoverer. His whole procedure is that of a Hack and a Quack, unscrupulous about any means by which he can earn money, and labouring to build up a reputation on deceit and delusion. By such unworthy artifices, no writer can permanently prosper; detection instantly brings him from his altitude, down to the very lowest ground; indeed, his good faith is thenceforth generally suspected; and the seeming honourable zeal he had shown in the prosecution of his science, looks odious in the eyes of all those whose pockets have suffered from his

exactions. He often tells us, in a high spirit of philosophy, that people in general are wonderfully awake to all measures that touch their pockets or their bellies; and we may add, that people in general are strongly disposed to dislike and despise those who have played off any hoax upon their understanding. There is nothing like plain dealing on the part of a public expounder of the truths of any science, towards those who are willing to give him credit for an acquaintance with its principles; and, once convicted of systematic jugglery, his authority is self-destroyed, and all his future speculations necessarily regarded with suspicion and distrust.

Such conduct as this in a teacher of the science of Political Economy, is more especially reprehensible in the present times, when its principles have not only undergone so much searching and sifting, but have been appealed to, and acted upon, by those in whose hands is the administration of the affairs of the country. It is odious at such a crisis to seek to gain or enhance a reputation for skill in a science by double dealing and deception. People who were told that Mr M'Culloch had been constantly putting forth, in number after number of the Edinburgh Review, and other works, ingenious and profound speculations on all the most important and difficult questions in Political Economy, naturally enough conceived, that he must be a man of prodigious knowledge, and no less prodigious talents and attainments. One crop of essays after another, without any summer-fallowing, was he seen raising from the rich soil of an intellect, whose fertility was inexhaustible; when lo! it was discovered, that the same sheafs had been brought out of the barn under cloud of night, and every succeeding Autumn re-stooked in the field, to delude with the seeming of a new harvest! The Corn Question, for example, was known to be a difficult one; but still people wondered "that one small head could carry all he knew," when they heard Mr M'Culloch at it again and again, with endless arguments and illustrations stretching to the crack of doom. The spell must be broken, now they are let into the secret which they might long ago have discovered for themselves,—that all he had ever written on that question, might be comprized within a dozen pages; and that, with a recklessness of imposture, that for a time favoured its concealment, he has for years been republishing verbatim, upon his purchasers, the same wares they have kept paying for and perusing, without the slightest suspicion of the cheat so repeatedly practised upon their pockets and their understanding. The shame which they must feel on the discovery, will serve to augment the bitterness of their an-

ger; for there is no feeling more uneasy than that with which awakened dupes regard a convicted impostor.

A short sketch of the rise, progress, peculiar objects, and importance of Mr M'Culloch's Political Economy, on the plan of his own discourse, would exhibit a droll picture of his character. In the spring of 1816, if we remember aright, he published his first Essay on the Science. A few months afterwards, appeared his Essay on the Justice and Expediency of reducing the Interest of the National Debt, in which much of the substance of the previous pamphlet was embodied. That Essay, although alluded to, we believe, by Mr Ricardo, failed to attract any public notice; and soon "went the way of all flesh." But Mr M'Culloch cherished it like the apple of his eye; and in 1822 reprinted a great part of it in his article "Corn Laws," in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. He has the candour once, and once only in the whole course of his life, to acknowledge his obligation to himself in a note; but the note nevertheless does not speak the truth. It acknowledges "a few paragraphs," whereas it should have said "many paragraphs;" everything being reprinted that at all bore on the subject. Almost all the rest of the said Essay is we suspect to be found afterwards scattered through the Edinburgh Review. In a year or two after his Essay on the National Debt, he became editor of the Scotsman, and we believe the Essay likewise figures away in fragments through various numbers of that newspaper. The leading articles of that newspaper, for conducting which Mr M'Culloch of course received a salary, one and all of them, on subjects of Political Economy, are transferred bodily into the Edinburgh Review, where they were again paid for. Many, or most of them, are also transferred bodily into the article Political Economy in the Supplement, at so many guineas a sheet. The Supplement, the Scotsman, and the Review, kept the indefatigable scissors incessantly at work; and all the while Mr M'Culloch was receiving triple payment in money for the same articles, and triple payment in fame. Then he began, very much to his credit, to deliver lectures in Edinburgh, in Liverpool, in the city of London, in Westminster, in the West End of the Town, among other matters delivering *vivâ voce* all he had previously published in the Supplement, the Scotsman, and the Review, and thereby getting fuel to the fire that makes the pot to boil, as well as fuel to feed the lustre of his reputation. Oh! Mr M'Culloch, did you never feel your jaws opening into an elongated gaunt at the wearifu' repetition of your oral and written eloquence! Often have we pitied the poor player in acting Hamlet

or Scrub for the thousand or fifteen hundredth time before town or country audience in theatre or barn; but then your subject is itself so very dry, and so very very dry your method of treating it, that we do wonder you have never fallen down through pure fatigue of soul and body, and been borne insensible out of the rostrum!—Mr M'Culloch then published his Introductory Discourse to his Lectures, nearly all which is reprinted from his other writings, at the moderate sum of five shillings and sixpence for about a hundred pages. Soon after he published another Discourse, delivered at the opening of the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution, in which, as usual, he reprints verbatim several of the choicest passages in his Introductory Lecture. He then published, in a goodly twelve-shilling octavo, "Principles of Political Economy," which is a mere reprint of his article, "Political Economy," in the Supplement, and for which we have heard that his munificent publisher paid him, on what principle we know not, five hundred sovereigns. In an advertisement to that volume, he states that the article in the Supplement is the ground-work of the volume; but that in "most respects" it is a "new work." On the credit of that assertion, many persons, like ourselves, must have purchased the volume; but the assertion is a direct falsehood. It is not in any one respect whatever a new work. The first sixty pages belong almost literally to the Introductory Discourse, while all the rest of the Introductory Discourse is also embodied in the volume. The remainder is in the Supplement, or in the Edinburgh Review, or in the Scotsman. Instead, therefore, of being in most respects a new work, it is in all respects an old one. A few months ago, Mr M'Culloch published, for the benefit of his countrymen, in the lower and middle ranks of life, an "Essay on the Circumstances which determine the Rate of Wages and the Condition of the Labouring Classes." Prefixed is the following advertisement: "The following Essay was intended to form part of a volume which I undertook to contribute for Constable's Miscellany. But that publication having been delayed, in consequence of the difficulties in which its public-spirited projector has, in common with so many others, been unhappily involved, some gentlemen, who think that the circulation of the Essay may be of use, have advised me to publish it in this separate form." Never was there put into print such a ludicrously dishonest announce. "I undertook to contribute!" Indeed! Why, my good sir, any printer's devil might have undertaken to contribute the following Essay, who had a pair of shears put into his fist, for it is to be found, almost verbatim, in the Supple-

ment, also in the Edinburgh Review, also in the Scotsman, also in "The Principles of Political Economy." Now, does not the advertisement not only conceal that fact, but does it not virtually assert that it is an original Essay? "Some gentlemen think that the circulation of this Essay may be of use." Perhaps it may; for it is not a bad Essay. But what do they mean by circulation? Has it not been already circulated in the Supplement, and in the Edinburgh Review, and in the Scotsman, and in the Principles of Political Economy? What more would they have? Do those works not circulate? So it turns out that this Essay, from whose circulation so much good is expected, is now reprinted for the fifth time!

All this is so irresistibly ludicrous, that our sense of its dishonesty is lost in that of its absurdity—And this is the tax-abhorring Economist, who complains with tears of indignation and pity, that hundreds of years ago the people of Amsterdam had to pay seven times over for their fish!

In spite of the great reduction of taxes effected by the present Ministry, it cannot be denied that the people of this country labour under many severe burthens—and nobody has been more forward to keep them in perpetual mind of the weight on their shoulders than Mr M'Culloch. But is this the way to lighten the load? At a time when the interest of the National Debt amounts to so many millions, considerably upwards of thirty—and when Mr M'Culloch repeatedly assures us, that through the operation of the Corn Laws upwards of twenty millions are destroyed "en pure perte," is it acting like a patriotic citizen thus to keep dip dipping his hands too into the sorely-drained pockets of the people? Let us make a short statement of the sums he has extracted from their purses—and, to use his own frequent words, "let us err on the safe side." First, we shall suppose two hundred and fifty sets of the Scotsman now wholly valueless, since all that once constituted their value, namely, his own articles, has been so often elsewhere reprinted. Estimating each set for the four years or thereabouts that he was editor or chief contributor, at the low price of two pounds, had his articles remained there, we have the sum of five hundred pounds destroyed "en pure perte," and that too in the pockets of the lower or middle ranks of society, on whom such a loss must fall with peculiar severity. We shall suppose that he has palmed off on the subscribers of the Edinburgh Review, four sheets and a half, (a supposition far below the truth,) for which they had previously paid in the said Review. Four sheets and a half make about the third of a number, and cost each subscriber two shillings—a smallish sum to any one indi-

vidual, however narrow his circumstances—but if the sale of the Review be nine thousand copies, amounting to nine hundred pounds. We shall suppose that Mr Jeffrey has paid him two hundred pounds, for articles already paid for in the Review itself, or other publications. His Principles of Political Economy have been purchased at twelve shillings, we shall say, by five hundred persons, on the faith that the volume was in "most respects a new work," whereas it is in all respects an old one. Each purchaser therefore paid, let it be said, six shillings more than he had bargained for, and we get the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. But the same purchasers also repurchased in that volume, the Introductory Lecture, for which they had given five shillings; so we must add to the one hundred and fifty pounds another one hundred and twenty-five pounds. The Essay on Wages is not dear, only one shilling; but, seeing that perhaps five hundred persons purchased it who had paid for it, without knowing the fact, once, twice, or three or four times before, we must add to the other items of the account twenty-five pounds. Whether the publisher of the Principles, when he gave Mr M'Culloch five hundred pounds for them, knew, or did not know, that almost everything in the volume had been printed before, we cannot positively say; but we may fairly conjecture that he did not, since Mr M'Culloch asserts in his advertisement that "it is in most respects a new work." If so, certainly two hundred sovereigns of that five should be shelled out by Mr M'Culloch. What the damage done to the Edinburgh Review by Mr M'Culloch's singular conduct may be, time must show; but a thousand pounds seems to be a very low estimate. Without, therefore, going into farther particulars, which would greatly swell the account, it may be rudely taken to stand as below:

Two hundred and fifty sets of the Scotsman destroyed, "en pure perte"	£500	0	0
Articles twice paid by subscribers to the Edinburgh Review	900	0	0
Articles twice or oftener paid by Mr Jeffrey	200	0	0
Loss sustained by the purchasers of the Principles	150	0	0
Loss sustained by the purchasers of the Introductory Discourse	125	0	0
Loss sustained by the purchasers of the Essay on Wages	25	0	0
Overcharge on Mr Tait	200	0	0
Damage done to Edinburgh Review	1000	0	0
Sundries	50	0	0
Grand total of the whole	£3150	0	0

We do not pretend to be such accurate financiers as Mr M'Culloch or Mr Hume, but the above bill, we are confident, errs only on the safe side. Now, whatever portion of this sum Mr M'Culloch has put into his pocket, it is at least certain, that what he has not pocketed he has destroyed "en pure perte;" and that he is as destructive an agent as any Corn Law that was ever enacted. He is therefore answerable for the whole to Editors, Publishers, Subscribers, and the Country now groaning under the weight of a grinding taxation.

If we have made any little error in our account, Mr M'Culloch, we are sure, is not the man to treat an error of the kind with much severity, for his own blunders in Political Arithmetic may vie with those of the Member for Montrose. In one of his articles in the Edinburgh Review, written a few years ago, he told us, that about forty odd millions of quarters of grain were annually consumed by the people of Great Britain; and in a subsequent Number, he states their annual consumption to be upwards of ninety millions of quarters. He has either made a mistake in the one case or the other, of some fifty millions of quarters; or he has admitted a very extraordinary fact, and one that seems an excellent argument in support of the Corn Laws, that each individual in Great Britain now devours double the quantity of grain that he used to do—wheat, oats, barley, rye, and also (according to another calculation of Mr M'Culloch's elsewhere) thrice the quantity of potatoes. Pretty well that for a starving population!

By the by, we observe advertised, a Dictionary of Political Economy, by Mr M'Culloch; and also a new edition of Smith's Wealth of Nations. We shall glance our eye over these works, so soon as they make their appearance, in fear, rather than hope, of meeting again with a multitude of our old disagreeable acquaintances. Our attention will be particularly directed to the edition of the Wealth of Nations. Exclusive of a Life of Dr Smith, (not particularly called for, perhaps, after the one by Mr Dugald Stewart,) "this edition will contain Dissertations, exhibiting a view of the progress and state of Political Economy previously to the publication of the Wealth of Nations—of the principal merits and defects of Dr Smith's system—of the subsequent progress and present state of the science. Notes will also be subjoined, in which the errors in the "Wealth of Nations" will be rectified, and such additional facts and illustrations added, as may seem necessary to render this edition of that great work as complete and perfect as possible." We have heard that that intelligent and enterprising publish-

er, Mr Black, is to give Mr M'Culloch a thousand or five hundred pounds for this edition. No doubt, Mr M'Culloch has ample materials for it, in the Scotsman, and in the Introductory Discourse, and in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia, and in the Edinburgh Review, and in the Principles of Political Economy, and in the Essay on Wages. Mr Black may be very willing to pay him over again, more munificently than ever, for all he has ever written on such subjects; and if so, we have no sort of right to find fault with his generosity—But will the public buy such an Edition? Should Mr Black expect from Mr M'Culloch something original, let him send the proof-sheets to us, and we shall have much pleasure in marking all the new passages, which, we do not doubt, will be more merciful on the keelavine than marking one-twentieth part of the old. But this is mere conjecture, founded on our experience of Mr M'Culloch's past tricks of trade, and we hope, for Mr Black's sake, it will not be verified by the publication.

What, then, is the line of conduct which, under his present circumstances, Mr M'Culloch ought to pursue? Various plans may be suggested by which he may get rid of much of the odium and obloquy attending such a series of transactions. It would not be possible to return the three thousand guineas to all the parties; and we do not doubt that they have all reconciled their minds to its everlasting loss. With three thousand guineas, however, a man may do a great deal of good, and wipe away a great deal of evil. Suppose that Mr M'Culloch presents the whole sum to Mr Michael Linning and the other sane persons, under whose auspices has been laid the foundation of a spectral Parthenon on the Calton-Acropolis of our modern Athens. A few additional steps, and a few additional pillars may then be reared, and the flock increased of the "Grey Geese of Muckle-Stane-Moor." Or, suppose he send the whole sum to the Glasgow and Paisley committee for the relief of distressed manufacturers. That would be of more use to them, in the opinion of some gentlemen, than the circulation of his "Essay on Wages." Or suppose he mortify the whole sum for the endowment of an Hospital for the widows and orphans of decayed Political Economists. In twenty years, under good management, the three thousand guineas may be thirty thousand. Or suppose he endow an ambulatory Chair of Political Economy for an itinerant professor, who may travel the country, lecturing as he goes, from Cornwall to Kirkwall.

Should Mr M'Culloch's mind hesitate between these schemes, let him appoint a committee to decide upon them, and abide

by their decision. Let the committee consist of Messrs Malthus, Mushet, Mill, Tooke, Torrens, Buchanan, and Craig. Although none of these gentlemen have ever committed the delinquencies of which he has been guilty, but have always spoken and written like men jealous of the dignity of their favourite science, and jealous of their own dignity as successful inquirers into its principles, yet such intelligent persons will do their best to rescue from reproach the name and character of a brother Economist. They will not suffer any of their past bickerings to influence their judgment; and in their united wisdom, will hit upon some Plan by which Mr M'Culloch may be restored to that place in Politico-Economical society, of which nothing but a want of good faith could ever have deprived a man of his abilities—The public will forgive, and Political Economy flourish for ever.

THE END.

A

SUMMARY ACCOUNT

OF THE

Steam Boats

FOR

LORD COCHRANE'S EXPEDITION;

WITH

SOME FEW WORDS UPON THE TWO FRIGATES ORDERED AT NEW YORK

FOR

THE SERVICE OF GREECE.

BY

COUNT ALERINO PALMA.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EFFINGHAM WILSON,
ROYAL EXCHANGE.
1826.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY CHARLES WOOD,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.

A

SUMMARY ACCOUNT,

&c. &c.

THE motives of policy and delicacy, which forced me, as well as other true friends of Greece, to be silent on the affair of the Steam Boats, during the preceding months, cannot exist at present, because all the newspapers speak of it, and because this business, as well as their destination, are now become a public concern. The public will receive with pleasure, and the bondholders with interest, my recital, which gives at one glance an insight into that which has not yet been fully disclosed, but which has been touched upon in different papers, concerning this subject.

The second loan was hardly contracted (Feb. 1825) with Messrs. Ricardo, when Mr. Edward Ellice, one of the members of the Philhellenic Committee in London, who had been requested previously by Mr. Zaymis (one of the three Greek deputies in London at that moment, Mr. Luriottis being at that time in Paris) to assist and co-operate in this loan, took, or got hold of, or told Ricardo to keep at his disposal the sum of 10,000*l.*, with the intention to make use of them to provide Greece with a steam boat, which the said Committe had already since the

first loan insisted upon with the Deputies, who, however, could decide nothing about it, for want of authority from the Greek Government so to do, to whom they communicated directly by letters, through me, when I went to Greece, this advice of the Committee, and from whom they expected answers. Captain Hastings happened also to arrive from Greece, who was the bearer of a letter nominating him to the rank of a Captain of the Greek navy, to which he had offered to provide a steam boat, offering 5,000*l.* of his own, provided the Government, or its deputies in London, would place 3,000*l.* more at his disposal, an offer which he afterwards renewed to the deputies by letters here, although his calculations brought the cost of the steam boat to nearly 12,000*l.* or 14,000*l.*

Mr. Hastings made common cause with Mr. Ellice, and it is to them that I leave it to be said how, and why, instead of purchasing a steam boat already built, whether here, at Liverpool, or elsewhere, they preferred to have a new one built. However, Mr. Ellice, who had taken upon himself the construction of the steam boat, assured the deputies, that it would have been finished and fit for being sent to Greece, in three or four months at latest.

Mr. Galloway, already well known as an engineer, and considered a man entirely devoted to the cause of freedom, and possessing great influence in the election of the Members of Parliament, in London and its environs, and consequently a man enjoying the reputation of a Philhellene, was entrusted by

Mr. Ellice with its construction: and as both he and Mr. Ellice promised, that in the month of July, without fail, the steam boat (afterwards called the *Perseverance*) would be in Greece, the Deputies and every one believed it.

But the month of August 1825 arrived, and it was not, I will not say finished, but not even likely to be so. Most unfortunately this month was fertile in bad news of the affairs of Greece: every one thought her lost without resource: and of this opinion were those of the Philhellenes, who were before the warmest partisans of the Greek cause. It was enough to see the same farce renewed which I had seen acted in the year 1824, at the arrival of similar sad news from Greece, that is to say, Messrs. Ricardo and Ellice, and the other friends of Greece, declared, that no part of that money which was in the hands of the former, proceeding from the loan of which they were the agents, should be sent to Greece, or placed at the disposal of the Deputies, unless they would consent to every thing they had to propose and should do to save Greece themselves. The Deputies could undoubtedly not oppose this conclusion, when (as it must be kept in memory once for ever) they could have no recourse to law for the execution of their contracts stipulated in quality of Deputies of the Greek Government, whilst this Government, not being recognised as such, has no existence in the eyes of the law and forms of judiciary proceedings. These gentlemen had therefore all the latitude of saying,

doing, and pretending to have done, with the money of Greece, furnished by the public of London, what they thought proper; but the Deputies, who were obliged to yield so many times before, at the period of similar pretensions of the Committee in 1824, although contrary to the laws of the contract, and to the interest of Greece, could they with propriety refuse, when these persons made a proposal, which tended visibly to furnish the means to save Greece in the promptest and most honourable manner? Lord Cochrane was proposed as Admiral of Greece; and as Mr. Orlando had some fear to adhere immediately to this proposition, on account of the Greek navy, a kind of Committee was established, composed of the said Mr. Ellice, Mr. John Cam Hobhouse, and Sir Francis Burdett, all three Members of Parliament; and the latter was added to it, because it was known that Mr. Orlando had the greatest respect for that gentleman, and had been on terms of friendship with him. This little Committee, or *Quatrumvirat*, formed by the intervention of Messrs. Ricardo's principal personages, inasmuch as they had taken possession of the money of Greece, and who very often took the tone of master and director, instead of that of the agent of the Deputies, decided that five other steam boats should be procured, to be placed with the Perseverance, not then finished, under the command of Lord Cochrane, and that the sum of 150,000*l.* should be set apart by Messrs. Ricardo, to be employed in the building of these other steam boats, and the expenses

that would be incurred in the fitting them out, including six months pay for the officers and men for the Greek service, deducting 37,000*l.*, which should be an indemnification in favour of Lord Cochrane and his family, for what he lost in decidedly quitting the service of the Emperor of Brazil, which was deemed perfectly equitable. From the principles of neutrality and alliance proclaimed by England, and better explained at the period of the first remonstrances which the Sublime Porte made to the British Minister Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, when the first loan took place, and the first sending of money to Greece, gave a just reason to fear, that the English Government might have prevented the steam boats from departing, as soon as their destination was known (which would have easily happened, if the Deputies had appeared in a contract with Lord Cochrane, and with the sellers or constructers of the steam-boats), the *Quatrumvirs* declared (and I think wisely enough), that both the contract with Lord Cochrane, as well as the purchase or fabrication of the steam-boats, had been made by them. In consequence of this, the Deputies Orlando and Luriottis found themselves deprived of all direct interference with this affair, which remained entirely in the hands of Messrs. Ellice, Hobhouse, Burdett, and Ricardo. This is so true, that Mr. Hastings often showed unwillingness in allowing the Deputies to visit the Perseverance, and said openly and wrote even to those gentlemen, that he had only to do here with Messrs. Ricardo and Ellice, and in

Greece with the Greek Government or with the Greek nation. It is again remarkably so, for when Mr. Orlando, enraged, about six months ago, at the delay of the termination of these steam-boats, went to visit them, accompanied by Mr. Alderman Wood, and Joseph Hume, Esq., both Members of Parliament, and the latter the chairman of the Greek Committee in London, he has requested them to take an interest in the good and prompt termination of this business, the *Quatrumvirs* expressed verbally and by letters their dissatisfaction at such a step of Mr. Orlando's. I must say here in defence of the Greek Committee, properly called that of London, and whom some newspapers, as it appears, wish to reproach on this business, that it took, and could take no part nor interfere in it; and I will here state the reasons: — The Greek Government had ordered its Deputies not to interfere with this Committee, since the latter had arrogated to itself in 1824, at the period when the Florida was to have carried fresh money to Greece, the right of preventing this money being sent, after having besides of its own accord ordered the postponements, constituting itself thus an "English Committee", and protector of the bondholders, rather than a Philhellenic Committee and protector of Greece, and of the execution of the contract. Whatever money I set out with in the Florida, was the result of the kind exertions of Messrs. Burdett and Ellice, as I have so explicitly detailed in my work entitled "*Greece Vindicated,*" page 3 and the following; and it is also for this reason, that Messrs.

Burdett and Ellice had as individuals a just influence over the minds of the Deputies. On the other hand, what had happened in the said circumstance to Mr. Alderman Wood and Mr. Hume, prevented the Deputies from exposing other persons, by interesting them in it. However, it is necessary to remember, that Mr. Orlando, at the time of the conclusion of all this affair, and in the meeting where this conclusion took place, in addressing Sir Francis Burdett, declared loudly to him, that without him, and if it were not for him, who would look after this affair, whom he knew to be an honest man, animated with the true desire of saving Greece, and nowise connected with commerce or traffic, he would never have given his consent to the manner in which they were proceeding in this affair, and depriving the Deputies of all interference in it. Sir Francis Burdett answered him (Orlando has assured me so) that *he would answer for it with his head.* I should say, to give a clearer idea of this declaration of Orlando's, which was by no means complimentary to the other gentlemen, that one of the first individuals of England, who undoubtedly would save Greece, if he could, had advised the Deputies to be on their guard, because this money of the second loan would be consumed, and all swallowed up without any benefit to Greece. Time will come when his name may be declared, to show how this real *liberal* knew those who boast of this title in order to speculate for their profit; but as this advice was not applicable to any individual or individuals in particular,

neither shall I make any personal application whatsoever. It is, however, very certain, that the Deputies had learnt to distrust all in general. A very painful situation for them!

Although the machinery of the *Perseverance* was not yet finished, these gentlemen of the *Quatrumvirat* applied again to Mr. Galloway for the machinery of the other five steam boats. It seems the first idea had been to buy them ready made, and that afterwards, either because there were no good ones to be found, or in the manner Lord Cochrane wanted them, or because the latter thought that he might have been present, to have superintended their construction, and to get them executed with the improvements and alterations, which he thought in his wisdom and maritime experience necessary, it was decided to get them newly built. The urgency of the arrival of Cochrane in Greece was felt by these gentlemen, and by all the friends of Greece. I arrived the 17th of August of the same year from Greece, and I could only confirm this great want, and approve of the project of sending Lord Cochrane there. In the meanwhile Lord Cochrane was forced to absent himself from the English territory, because he was menaced with an arrest for having served in the war of Brazil. But Galloway was the only one of the engineers whom these gentlemen consulted, who promised to get these six steam boats finished in four or five months; in beginning, to give the Perseverance in a month, the two larger ones in the two following months, and the three smaller ones imme-

diately after the departure of the preceding ones, a circumstance which deserves to be remembered so much the more, because the other engineers pretend that it was impossible to execute the order in such a short delay, especially by him alone, and without the assistance of others, an assistance which the Deputies demanded always in vain from the *Quatrumvirs*, as well verbally as by letters; as it was known that Lord Cochrane had spoken with Galloway, and that he, as well as Sir Francis Burdett, had entire confidence in him; and thus the Deputies and friends of Greece passed from day to day, in the hope of seeing these steam boats and Lord Cochrane save Greece. The works of the Perseverance were carried on with some ardour, in which vessel Messrs. Ricardo took a more decided interest, as was easy to be seen, and the Deputies complained that there was not an equal wish shown to go on with the others. Orlando was even dazzled by the luxury which was exhibited in Captain Hastings' cabin, luxury ill suited to the state of Greece; and still less ought it to have been so, when it was seen that the vessel which was destined for Lord Cochrane was far inferior.

On the 1st October was issued the Proclamation of his Majesty's Government (which every one may recollect); in my opinion it was rather a declaration that such prohibitory laws existed, than creating new ones. It came like a clap of thunder, and all work then going forward on the steam boats ceased. Notwithstanding seven months, instead of four, had

already elapsed, without the Perseverance being finished, and sailed for Greece. What was then to be done? All that could be done was to have patience, and to endeavour to work secretly as much as possible. Mr. Spaniolacki, who had been sent to Paris as third Deputy, commissioned by Orlando and Luriottis with 14,000*l.* to be expended in the manner agreed upon between them, for the good of Greece, expended this money conjointly with Mr. Ternaux, in the manner they thought proper. At his return, the others complained of the different way in which he laid out the money to what they had intended, and demanded detailed accounts of the manner in which this money had been expended: they complained, also, that the muskets he had purchased came, when shipped at Marseilles, to about thirty-six francs each. These complaints—the refusal of Spaniolacki to give in all the accounts his colleagues, who were those who had sent him, required—the opposition that he made to several items in the accounts of the two loans, delivered to him by the others, led to a misunderstanding between the three Deputies; so that some persons, who for some time past ought to have been kept away from both influence and confidence at Sackville Street, tried to increase, and in my opinion did not a little contribute to arrest the progress of the business of the steam boats. From this moment Mr. Spaniolacki spoke of nothing else but annulling the contract with Lord Cochrane; of giving up both the steam boats and the frigates in America, and of selling them

for whatever money could be had for them, to send out money, soldiers, and ammunition in their stead. I think I cannot offend him, therefore, in saying, that I believe he has never meddled with the affair of the steam boats, and consequently is not inculpated by their non-success. These instances of Spaniolacki seemed to agree with the idea of Messrs. Ricardo, and appeared — to some to be the result of an intrigue of the faction, which was contrary to the then existing Government in Greece; and which, fomented also by foreign courts, and by Mehemet Ali Pacha, was desirous of hindering the arrival of Lord Cochrane; and the first object to be obtained was the recal of the Deputies Orlando and Luriottis, who alone were the supporters of this affair — to others it appeared to be the result of a speculation to create new affairs, to be transacted instead of the past ones, by which there was no longer any thing to be made; and to others, in fine, it appeared a means sought out by Ricardo to keep all the money himself, after the example that had been practised after the fall of the Spanish Constitutional Government, with respect to the money of the loan; since by the publication of the proclamation before alluded to, and by the continuance of bad news daily received from Greece, she was looked upon as completely lost. Why should Messrs. Ricardo and Spaniolacki think themselves entirely freed from calumny, which respects nobody? and when the idea that Lord Cochrane, with his steam boats, would save Greece, was the uppermost thought of

every one? It would have required a knowledge of futurity to have adopted such a plan. I, who did not possess this gift—I have often spoken with Mr. Spaniolacki on this subject; and I said that Lord Cochrane, with his steam boats in Greece, was equal to her being saved, the Greek bonds risen in the market, and the credit of Greece entirely established; but that without him and his steam boats in Greece, money, and a few officers and soldiers sent there, would only have prolonged her agony for a time, and that she would be entirely extinct the following year. About the same time Messrs. Ricardo, Ellice, and Spaniolacki, and some others that it is useless to name, made a species of alliance, and from that moment there no longer existed that good intelligence between the Deputies and those who were to assist them in the important business of the steam boats, that was necessary to ensure its completion.

I have remarked often, with pain, that the Deputies were the *true* representatives of their Government and of their country; that proves again, that a single Deputy would be much better than three. Mr. Orlando decided upon returning to Greece; quitted Sackville Street, and lived at his own expense, to wait for the departure of the two other steam boats, to return by one of them. About the middle of February people began to get over a little of the fright occasioned by the proclamation, and several persons even thought, that its enforcement would be mostly over at the end of six months after

its date. I went some time after to Brussels to see Lord Cochrane, and to ask him to take the two frigates in America on his own account, the Deputies not having the 50,000*l.* necessary for their com pletion, although they had already paid 155,000*l.*, hoping this arrangement would be ratified by the Greek Government. His Lordship assured me these frigates would be of no use to him, being too large for the seas of Greece (2,500 tons, and 64 guns); his reliance was placed on the steam-vessels; and that if there required any money to finish them, he would write to Sir Francis Burdett to take the necessary sum out of the 37,000*l.* which was to be paid as his indemnity. I can assure those who seem to doubt the sincerity of this great man, that it is impossible to find a man more strongly attached to the fate of Greece, more enthusiastic to fly to its succour, and more sanguine and assured on the manner of saving her with the already mentioned means. He assured me that he had letters from London, which informed him that the Perseverance was positively to sail shortly, and that he meant to depart immediately after, as the two other large ones would follow closely after, to join him where he had ordered. Lord Cochrane was also of opinion, that the aforementioned proclamation would cease to be in vigour in the month of March; and com-plained that every thing that was done at Sackville Street was known to the public, notwithstanding the great necessity for secrecy. I returned to London about the middle of March, and I found the same

dissentions existed between Spaniolacki and his partisans, and the other Deputies and their friends. Notwithstanding these dissentions, they succeeded in sending off Mr. Contostavlo, a Greek banker in London, to terminate the affair of the frigates, and to have either one or both, if possible, instead of having them sold, by writing from London to that effect, as seemed to be the opinion of Spaniolacki and Ricardo.

The Perseverance, which, according to the promises of Mr. Galloway, was to sail every week, was continually tried, and the result of these different trials only tended to prove that the machinery was badly made. This is the state in which things remained until the 25th of May of the present year, when she sailed for the Ionian Islands, and arrived off Gibraltar, where the machinery was found to be completely out of order; and it is not even known, at the present moment, whether the Perseverance has been able to reach Greece or not; I hope to God, however, that she has, and is with Lord Cochrane!

Some little time previously Lord Cochrane came secretly to visit these steam boats, and to have a clear understanding with Galloway, and those who had undertaken the management of this business. On this occasion Lord Cochrane, as well as the already mentioned Deputies, remarked a visible difference in the behaviour of Messrs. Ricardo; for although they had spent so much money for the Perseverance and for Captain Hastings, they refused

at first, and only acceded, with difficulty, to Lord Cochrane's demand of a sum of money necessary to purchase a few books, charts, and other requisites for the expedition.

After his Lordship's visit, and after the numerous trials of the Perseverance, every one naturally expected that the machinery of the other vessels would have perfectly succeeded. Galloway, *fertile in promises*, still declared the vessels should be completely fit for any service in a *few days:* unfortunately, his promises are all of the same nature. The two Deputies, Orlando and Luriotti, seeing all their hopes frustrated, wrote, and verbally repeated to Messrs. Ricardo not to pay any further sum of money to Galloway, so long as the two other boats were not in a fit state for going to sea. They applied to Mr. Ellice for some account of the 10,000*l.* Six letters were addressed to this gentleman, without his deigning to return the least answer, otherwise than by a *verbal* message, that this account would come in with that of the other vessels consequently to be furnished them by Messrs. Ricardo: this, however, appeared very far from being satisfactory to the Deputies, as the affair of Mr. Ellice and the Perseverance was altogether separate, both in date and agreement. Besides, would it not be well to know whether Mr. Hastings has fulfilled his promise or not?

The accounts were afterwards demanded of Messrs. Ricardo, who replied, they could give no *separate* account of these vessels, only that all the

money was spent, and that they required more to complete the other five vessels. It has been hinted to me already, that the sum Lord Cochrane placed at the disposal of the agents, in case of need, is to be expended, and that Messrs. Ricardo had applied to the Duke D'Alberg for the money the French Committee had raised for Greece.

The Deputies, and those who understand matters, apprehend there is some deep laid plan to make away with those Greek bonds which are in the hands of Ricardo, and which for the moment are of no apparent value; and which ought to have been, after the example of what has happened to Mr. Hurtado with Goldsmith, placed in the Bank of England, as Orlando had expressed a strong wish to do. Without, however, remaining any longer on the mere *on dits*, which would lead me too far, I will merely take the facts. "One, and only one steam vessel, the Perseverance, has sailed; the two others are in a state to make their success despaired of; the three others are only begun. A few days ago a fine steam boat, the Valencia, lying alongside of them in the river, was sold for only 11,000*l.* I believe. The Deputies Orlando and Luriotti had ordered no further sums should be paid away by Messrs. Ricardo, and yet the sum of 123,000*l.* has disappeared!!"

Can it also be denied that the Deputies have several times insisted with Messrs. Ricardo, Ellice, and Hobhouse, that engineers should be employed to visit the work of Mr. Galloway, and report

thereon? Can it be denied that the Deputies, and several English gentlemen interested in their success, have applied for some Engineers to be added to Mr. Galloway, or even to supersede him? Has it not been replied, in answer to the Deputies, that on account of the approaching elections it was desirable not to molest Mr. Galloway? The visits, letters, prayers, and instances of the Deputies were as often repeated as the promises of Mr. Galloway, and with about equal success. The friends of Greece excited the Deputies to these measures, saying that Galloway had a son in Egypt; that a regular correspondence was kept up between the Pacha and certain individuals in London; and that requests had been presented in the name of the Ottoman Porte, by merchants residing here, to the British Ministers, to prevent the departure of these vessels. These instances were likely to be doubled, when it should be known that Lord Cochrane and the Perseverance had sailed. But what more could be done? When we are deprived of the means of application to the tribunals, we are placed, as it were, in our primitive state of nature, and the only resource left is that of the use of pistols; but their report would have brought to light the whole of the affair, and the Deputies would have been accused of being the cause of any measures that the Government here might have interposed as to the departure of these vessels!

To the unfortunate position in which the Deputies and the true friends of Greece, — as Mr. Ald. Wood,

Wm. Smith, Esq. M. P., Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P., Dr. B. Gilchrist, Major Cochrane, and many others, who have always taken a most lively interest in the business—have been placed, is to be added a circumstance the most fatal of all; the only person in whom entire confidence was reposed, and who possessed the *os ad loquendum*, him on whom Lord Cochrane relied with greatest hope, as he has declared on more than one occasion, to Mr. Orlando—Sir Francis Burdett—left England for Paris; and a few days after Mr. Hobhouse left this country, as the papers said, for St. Petersburgh. How was this proceeding to be explained? How is the conduct of Sir Francis, who is incapable of injuring any individual, to be interpreted, without giving some credit to the report, that the fate of Greece had been determined on by the English Ministry, and the other European Powers? That the report of the expedition of Lord Cochrane might be of some use in obtaining the consent of the Porte; but that Lord Cochrane, with his steam boats, was too much to be feared, since he might elevate Greece to that degree of triumph, and that form of established power, that the policy of Europe, for the present, is so much opposed to. But who, then, is to give an account of the 123,000*l.* which have been spent; not only against the desires and express orders of the Deputies themselves, but in so improvident a manner? They who have been the cause of this mismanagement have a great deal to answer for—the fate of Missolonghi, and the other disasters that

may happen to Greece, caused by the want of those necessary means to support her!

In the meantime the situation in which Mr. Galloway and his coadjutors are placed, as far as public opinion goes, must be truly terrific; for it leaves, at all events, but a sad alternative, until he has perfectly exonerated himself and them. Besides the blame cast on them at the present moment by the public, there may come the time when the Greek Government may legally demand an investigation into the whole business. Would it then suffice for Mr. Galloway to say in his defence, it was on account of engines or boilers of an entirely new construction, improvements ordered by Lord Cochrane? Should not a good engineer call in to his aid, and consult others, and then report whether the thing is feasible or not within the time stipulated, especially after having had five months trial of the Perseverance? But when a countryman of mine called on Mr. Galloway, to communicate some ideas he had of an improvement in the wheels, one of the Messrs. Galloways replied to him, that every thing in that line had been carried to the *nec plus ultra* in England, and that any thing he had to communicate to them could only be *nonsense!*

I have no wish to give any opinion on these transactions; I leave that entirely to those gentlemen interested in a pecuniary way, and to those who have the interest of Greece at heart: besides, it is necessary to hear what can be said in their defence, before condemning either one side or the other.

The first thing to be done, in my humble opinion, would be to form a Committee of seven individuals, not interested (merely on account of their speculations) in the triumph of Greece—having no motive of displeasure or spite against either Greece, her Rulers, or her Deputies, and to be endowed with the first quality for such an undertaking, that is to say, impartiality; who, without having decidedly the handling of money (for the moment a Committee, or Commission, has the handling of money, then it completely changes its nature), should endeavour to recover the above-mentioned sum of 100,000*l.* or more; to send out other steam vessels immediately to Greece; or, if it were possible still, to fit out the present ones at a less expense, and to send them off directly. I know that some engineers were sent some days ago to survey them.

One necessary thing this Committee or Commission should attend to is, that it ought to be entirely Philhellenic, and not sometimes a Greek Committee, and then merely an English one: for when once they have established themselves with the view of assisting Greece, and of contributing to its triumph and independence—if they succeed, will they not surely secure the interests of the bondholders?

I should wish that the faction which has been working for some time past, under all the appearance of doing well, should not deter them from this grand object; and that they should not be led astray in their discussions of the accounts, by any

apparent right to inspect those of the Greek deputation in London. These accounts are, and ought to be confined to the inspection of their own Government, according to the contracts of the loans, the constitutional laws of Greece, the delicate nature of their correspondence, and by what has been practised by other Deputies in similar cases. When once these accounts shall have been examined and discussed, doubtless then they will be published; they will become public property, and consequently that of the bondholders. I do not mean to say that Mr. Spaniolacki, and those who believe the Deputation has acted wrongly, have not the right to complain of them to the Greek Government, nor that he or they are not to get information in London that may be thought necessary, in a private way; also I do not wish to oppose that, as an act of courtesy towards the friends of Greece, the accounts of the two loans should be communicated in the manner the Deputies offered when the Sub-committee was created, upon the instance of Mr. Spaniolacki alone, and took place at Mr. Hobhouse's several months ago. But I certainly think that any other means used would be perfectly wrong, as it would only tend to draw off the attention from those—who really ought to be the accountable persons—who have never been pleased to give in proper accounts to the Deputation, which has repeatedly applied for them to give in to their Government, in their turns, the proper accounts; and secondly, that it would tend to favour the plan of those who have long

wished to ruin the affair of Lord Cochrane, either by publishing and getting the Deputies to avow it, or by getting them changed who alone could support the expedition of Lord Cochrane, and by causing them to lose their credit in Greece, and with theirs his (a motive for the Deputies refusing to show their accounts, except to those individuals who might have wished to serve Greece).

It must not be supposed that I am proposing exaggerated plans; for at all events the bondholders have nothing to fear, since their fate depends upon the salvation of Greece, and not upon a part of the loan being well or ill spent last year. Orlando has a long and established open account with the Government; his responsibility is well known, and considerable. That of Luriotti has been already mentioned in the British Press of the 31st of last month. If the Greek Government, to whom these accounts (imperfect as they are, by the already mentioned reasons) have been sent, find them its debtors, they will make good the sums required. The Greek Government has the means of obtaining from these accomptants the necessary funds. If the Deputies can have no resource to a tribunal of any kind in London, is it right to establish one against them, although it be of a private nature?

But let us proceed to the examination of these accounts, to find the sums to succour Greece: it would certainly be necessary to begin with the parts of the urgent and of the easy liquidation: now among these will be found, for two reasons, the sum

destined for steam boats; 1st, because the salvation of Greece depends on the speedy arrival of them in Greece, and any further delay might be fatal to her, and render of no use all the ulterior discussions of the accounts; 2dly, either Messrs. Ricardo have expended the whole of the 113,000*l.*, and in this case having improvidently expended, their restitution of the money is demanded by the common rules of justice and equity; or they have only expended a small part, as Galloway and others pretend, and consequently he must have money enough to purchase several Valencias (of which I have already spoken) to send quickly to Greece. After having thus provided for the safety of Greece, it will be necessary to examine the accounts of those who are accountable to the Deputation; since without having their accounts, it is impossible for the Deputation to give a clear, detailed, and entire account, which may prove in all respects regular and satisfactory: then we must begin by Mr. Ellice's 10,000*l.*, and acknowledge the money furnished by Mr. Hastings, in the building of the Perseverance: next we must take into consideration the 14,000*l.* spent, as they said, by Mr. Spaniolacki at Paris, in purchasing things which, it is reported, are entirely lost, having been taken by the pirates, and not having been insured. When once he shall have fully established his accounts (as I hope he will do), then he may legitimately continue to examine and assist the Committee in their control over the accounts of the other Deputies: that done, we may amuse our-

selves by examining the accounts of the Deputies Orlando and Luriotti, and consequently those of the Deputation; since, once the safety of Greece secured, all necessary leisure will be left us. This is what Mr. Orlando wrote to the above mentioned Sub-Committee, assembled at Mr. Hobhouse's, at which Mr. Spaniolacki and Mr. Luriotti (who was bearer of Orlando's letter) were present. Why was not a similar system followed? Was it because it did not suit the purpose of those who, underhand, were directing these operations? I cannot pretend to say: I know, however, that this is the moment to act, and to take the shortest means of saving Greece. In 1824, all the time was lost in London in discussion, which might then have saved her, and the islands of Ipsara, Casso, Negro Ponte, and Candia, fell into the hands of the enemy. Is it intended to follow the same system at the present moment, and thus to allow the whole of Greece to be lost? that reminds me of the Italian proverb:

'E cambiato il maestro di capella
Ma la musica è sempre quella.

I will merely say *en passant* here, that the letter addressed to Mr. Spaniolacki, by the Commission of the Government for foreign affairs (composed of thirteen individuals—an admirable Commission indeed!), ought not to have been published; for, in the first place, it does not bind the Deputies in any thing until their Government pleases, according to custom, to address to them a similar letter, and that

nothing attests its authenticity: secondly, because until the two English gentlemen are named, and they have accepted their office, this Commission is nothing: thirdly, it would be ridiculous to recal the Deputation, and to leave nobody to represent it, either actively or passively: for every one must agree with me in saying, that if this letter were authentic, and in the terms which I read it, there would be no longer any body; there would exist a Commission to examine the accounts, but nobody authorised to treat of the affairs of the loans, steam boats, frigates, and of the business past and present.

This letter would be then a single and simple embarrassment for the affairs—another argument of the grand plan for ruining the affair of Cochrane! But as, in the mean time, the accounts have been sent to Greece, by the Deputies Orlando and Luriotti, and that it is possible either that some changes have already taken place in this ridiculous form of Government*, or that it may have the only measure which can suit its dignity, and the perhaps delicate nature of affairs, it is then to be believed that things will remain in the same state as before; that is to say, that there is, according to the instructions of the Greek Government, a Deputation in London, composed of two of the three members, who forget their private quarrels to think of nothing but serving

* Instead of a Dictator were installed eleven individuals to direct the interior Government of Greece, and thirteen individuals for the external correspondence and affairs!

their country. I only give here my private opinion. I neither write by commission of the Deputies, nor is it known to them that I am writing any thing of their affairs. Orlando is returned to Greece. It is now a long time since I have been in the habit of frequenting Sackville Street; since I did not wish to participate in the dissentions, and still less in the intrigues which naturally ought, and are practised there, to ruin the affair of Lord Cochrane, notwithstanding the wishes of Luriotti. Why would they wish us to believe that Mehemet Ali, and Austria, should not have some surveillance over their affairs, and should be busied about this expedition of Cochrane? for it is not only what it is thought to be, but even more. But doubtless I do not mean to put a stop to any interpretation or consequence they may please to give it, who do not wish truth to be said. I will still say what I have always said, and which I repeated after my return from Greece, that to send any other man than Lord Cochrane, with the necessary means, is but a prolongation of the agonies of Greece, continually torn to pieces by her intestine factions, and ruined by the invasions of the enemy. The name, talents, and prestige that Lord Cochrane has, can do any thing; any army officer, even *happy* (for an unlucky General is a bad omen), cannot save her: he might assist in its salvation if he were well united with Lord Cochrane; and to insure that, it would require he should be of his own choice, and his private friend, and who would not do as most of the other military men did

in Greece, league himself with a party, thus fomenting their disorders, and directing their factions instead of putting them down. The idea of a Dictator by land, and of a Dictator by sea, is invented to paralyse Lord Cochrane, and hinder the triumph of Greece. The only Dictator of Greece ought to be the commander by sea, because he may command also the islands and the main land, and hinder the disembarkation of the Turkish troops; and because, by keeping at sea, he would be able to steer clear of parties, factions, and of the satellites of the enemies of Greece, and will be able to keep them all in respect and good order, and thus might direct and completely organize Greece. This is what I think essential to be well understood. I will not pretend to give any other counsels, since upon the rest, upon what will be necessary to do to succour Greece quickly, and in the only way necessary to avoid all the evils of which she has been the victim up to the present day, would be to *advise the learned*, or, as the Italian said, *instruire Mincrva.*

I will confine myself to a few words on the two frigates that the Deputies were to get in America, as the system of neutrality adopted in Europe did not allow them to be got here. The Greek Government had ordered its Deputies here to provide them with *eight frigates of fifteen guns on each side* (such are the expressions of the second article of the instructions of the 12th August 1824): hardly had the loan with Messrs. Ricardo been contracted, than some Phihellenes of great importance, and that it was

absolutely necessary to keep on good terms with, completely beset the Deputies to send General Charles Lallemand to New York, charged with this important affair: doubtless it would have been rather the business of a tradesman's clerk, who would have been satisfied with much less than 120*l.* per month, and who would have much better understood and executed his commission than a cavalry general, an aid-de-camp of Napoleon, and consequently accustomed to grand undertakings: but they advanced, that nobody could be better suited to the undertaking, on account of having been in America when the celebrated Champ d'Asyle was to be formed, which was only a means for certain persons, who had the direction of it, of appropriating a large sum of money to their own purposes at the expense of the *liberals* of Europe. Another great reason adduced by these gentlemen was his personal acquaintance with General Lafayette, who was at that time in America, with whom he might do a great deal for Greece. The Deputies yielded to the entreaties of these gentlemen, as they were obliged by their circumstances generally to do. Besides, what pride for the Greek Deputation in London, and particularly for Luriotti, who had been charged with the diplomatic affairs with America, as Orlando was for those in London, to have for an agent such a man! Instructions were drawn up, either by him or according to his wishes, on the part of the Deputies: in these instructions were placed two first rate frigates, instead of simply saying, two frigates similar to those

ordered in the second article of the instructions of the Greek Government, as it ought to have been. Care was taken however to stipulate all that was necessary to give the General a pleasant and happy voyage from New York to Greece, to take the command of, I do not exactly know what corps of cavalry, of what army might suit him. He left London in March 1825, for New York: he was recommended to the two houses there of Roy-Bayard and Howland, as Mr. Howland was the President of the Committee established in favour of the Greeks, and which had already sent so much pecuniary assistance to Greece. A number of persons thought the Deputies could not do better: General Lallemand was to be a second Napoleon, to do every thing, and make every thing succeed in America, to save and firmly establish Greece! When once the General arrived at New York, with the instructions both of the Greek Government and the Deputies here, he found it would be better to have them built under his own directions, and by workmen under his own orders, than to buy them ready built, to assist Greece without further delay: all his letters to the Deputies always talk of the greatest economy, and of the urgent necessity of sending these frigates to Greece. He found also, that it would be much better to have them of 2,500 tons, of sixty-four guns each, than to have them of the rate ordered by the Greek Government (which were the basis of the power of both the Deputies and himself), or at least of the rate corresponding to the latitude left them by the expression *frigates of the first*

rate, which were to have been of 1,500 tons, and of from forty-four to fifty guns each, according to the statement that the already mentioned houses sent to the Deputies, with their letters of the 7th of December, 1825: and in fine, instead of 50 or 60,000*l.* that had been calculated upon as the expense to be incurred by the Deputies and himself before his departure, he found it would be more *economical* to go to the expense of 205,000*l.* It was only however at the end of the year 1825, that he took care to give advice of so enormous an expense to the Deputies, to whom both he and the above-mentioned houses *gilded the pill*, by adding that they were the finest and largest frigates in the two worlds. The Deputies were without money at that moment, and had already paid 155,000*l.* by cheques for these frigates, and had no hopes of getting the sum of 50,000*l.* that the General demanded, as he said, to be able to send off these frigates, and without which sum neither of them could be sent to Greece. I saw, at the time of all this correspondence, enough to be able to give such an idea: the Deputies Orlando and Luriotti saw themselves obliged to send to New York, Mr. Contostavlo, who left here in March last. The correspondence of the latter tends to prove, that there never was an affair so badly conducted: but as General Lallemand has lately written to a distinguished person in England, that he will send him the pamphlet he has published for his justification, I must suspend and ought to suspend my judgment, in respect to this business altogether. Doubtless this pamphlet will be most inter-

esting, and I shall read it with pleasure: but what is certain also is, that Greece will have one of the two frigates, thanks to the favour shown the Greeks by the Government of the United States, in their purchasing the other to disencumber the affair; and that this frigate, which was already to have sailed for Greece, will only cost, all included, the trifle of 156,400*l.*, *thanks to economy.* It must be confessed, that a cruel fate pursues Greece in both hemispheres, and by or among those who interest themselves, or who declare they are most interested in her triumph.

PALMA.

17, King Street, Soho Square,
Sept. 2, 1826.

P. S. I had intended that this should have appeared in one of the Morning Papers of Monday last; but not having had an answer from the Editor, to a letter I addressed him on the subject on the preceding Friday, in which I offered him gratuitously my work, and on the other hand not having been able to read it at the Meeting of Bondholders and of the friends of Greece, held at the City of London Tavern on Monday, as I had projected; I am obliged to get it printed, fully persuaded that it is only by having a precise and exact knowledge of all that has passed, that any effectual remedy can be applied. If my wishes had been accomplished, doubtless this pamphlet might have been of some utility, either to persuade the bondholders and friends of Greece to compose the Committee of persons possessing pre-

cisely the qualities I have detailed, as I saw that to be a bondholder was not required; and that it has been fully shown on other occasions, and especially in this affair of the steam boats, that the having the name of liberal, Philhellen, &c. were not sufficient to guarantee the welfare of Greece; and not to let themselves be led astray by the detail of the accounts of the second loan (in keeping away, without the least reason in the world, those of the first, unless it be the reason I will not mention at present, and which does not reflect any credit upon those who endeavour to keep it away); to begin rather by the part clear, as to the money, and to the accounts themselves, to succour Greece immediately. By what Mr. Bailey said, Messrs. Ricardo have only paid 13,000*l.* instead of 80,000*l.* supposed to have been paid to Mr. Galloway: that being the case, there would be a sum of 67,000*l.* remaining, which is more than sufficient to purchase other steam boats, or to have those of Mr. Galloway immediately finished by other engineers. Do they mean to depend upon Mr. Galloway's six weeks, spoken of by Mr. Bailey? If so, I should say they meant to destroy Greece. Lord Cochrane will lose his patience, he will have no more money to pay the officers and men (money that Messrs. Ricardo were to set apart and keep at his disposition); and he would not still have the three smaller ones, which are indispensably necessary to him. I know what I am saying on this subject, as I had a long conversation with his Lordship about it; besides, as all the urgent business is

that of the steam boats, what can be expected by other discussions of the accounts with the Deputies, if the Committee did not succeed in obtaining entire justice towards its fellow citizens for affairs that are so clear? I have said sufficiently upon this subject in the preceding part of this paper: it is not my intention to take from Messrs. Ricardo, Galloway, and others, the means of defence they may possess, but all ought to be seen by impartial individuals: I have besides thrown some light upon the intrigues and affairs of Greece in general, in my work "*Greece Vindicated*," as well as on some persons, that the bondholders and the friends of Greece may know what to think of those persons, who possess all the virtues except those of impartiality so necessary throughout this investigation, and who consequently ought not to belong to it, if they had any modesty about them, without forcing me to speak more clearly.*

Since the accounts seem to interest so very much, and that they wish to find debtors to Greece, I ought to insist on what I have already said in my work, pages 145, 254, and 260*, and that Major William Parry had said before me †, that it would be useful to get those pretended 8,000*l.* that the Quakers and friends of Greece gave to the Committee or to its Agents, to assist Greece, and which were not remitted to the Greek Deputation in London; since

* *Greece Vindicated*, published by Ridgway, No. 169, Piccadilly. Price 8 shillings.

† *The Last Days of Lord Byron.* Printed for Knight and Lacy, Paternoster Row.

they told me in Greece that not even the half had reached them; the Committee without doubt, is innocent, but it may have been deceived by those it employed. If I am told that the Committee of London gives no account, according to custom, I would answer that I know not whether it be the case or no: but that *first*, it would be a good example; *secondly*, Greece might in my opinion deserve some exception; *thirdly*, that it would be very advantageous for her, and for morality in general, that the Day of Judgment were arrived, for all those who have had the handling of the money destined for Greece.

PALMA.

London,
September 3, 1826.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY CHARLES WOOD,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.

CONSIDERATION,

&c. &c.

LONDON:
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

CONSIDERATION

OF THE

CLAIMS AND CONDUCT

OF

THE UNITED STATES

RESPECTING THEIR

NORTH EASTERN BOUNDARY,

AND OF THE VALUE

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

LONDON:
JOHN HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.
1826.

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Con/Con

CONSIDERATION,

&c. &c.

THE dominions of Great Britain are so vast in extent, so divided in situation, and so various in their relations, that their general and respective interests must often distract, and sometimes perhaps escape, the attention even of the ablest and most vigilant government. The internal œconomy of a highly civilized and redundant population, and the foreign policy of war or peace in Europe, whose political questions are generally more important, and always more inviting, than those of distant and less cultivated Countries, so entirely engross the public mind, that it is not surprising, if the concerns of some remote and obscurer Provinces of the empire should sometimes meet with less consideration,

than is due, perhaps, either to the claims of that part, or the ultimate results upon the whole.

Examples of this kind are no where so frequently to be found, as in the history of our relations with America. The mistakes committed in the former management of that country, the disasters received in making war, the still greater disasters in making peace with it, may all be imputed to a false estimate, of its character and importance, its resources and increase. For a different degree of political foresight seems necessary for the old and new hemisphere, and anticipations, which would here be thought presumptuous or remote, have there proved comparatively certain and immediate, till it is now generally acknowledged, that the future destinies of our own country must, for good and evil, be principally connected with, or materially influenced by, those of America.

It is indeed an easy thing to console ourselves by turning to the unexampled successes, that have placed the Empire in the proud situation it now holds; but if we wish to consult the real power and permanence of that Empire, and not merely to flatter the nation's vanity on past achievements, it would be well perhaps to look more narrowly to that quarter, which offers least occasion for congratulation; where, however, we

may yet profit by experience, and if we cannot remedy the consequence of former errors, at least prevent their repetition. *For Great Britain still possesses the most valuable portion of the American Continent, and does not know it: and questions are now pending between her and the United States, by which, not only may that value be greatly impaired, but the very possession eventually lost.*

There was once a time, and within the memory of the present age, when almost the whole of North America belonged to the Crown of England: in 1783, the King renounced his rights of propriety and government to a certain portion, which has since formed the United States; but the exact limits of that portion have never yet been ascertained. By the extraordinary increase, as well of the ceded Provinces as of those retained, what was considered of little moment in 1783, has now become of vital importance. Of the differences which have arisen between the two Governments, respecting their common Boundaries, some have been arranged by discussion before Commissioners, others are ready, on our part at least, for reference to a friendly Power; and some (the object of the present inquiry) having been referred, are directed by the umpire to be settled by negotia-

tion. The pretensions of the two Governments are widely at variance, and, on the part of the American at least, most tenaciously maintained. In the present state of the question, it can be of little use to consider the arguments, on either side, in support of those pretensions: (negotiation, particularly with America, too commonly involves the idea of compromise:) but it may tend to the right understanding of the difference, to give a short statement of its origin, before entering upon the consequences.

The Provisional Treaty of 1783, by which the independence of the thirteen revolted Colonies was acknowledged, was negotiated on their part, by the profoundest statesman that country has ever produced; a man who, to a thorough acquaintance with the character and interests of America, united the deepest political sagacity, an impenetrable cunning, and most plausible address. It was not without reason perhaps, that he styled the statesmen of that period, as *'too ignorant to judge, and too proud to learn;'* for he was able to obtain of our Ministry terms, which exceeded the expectation of his own Countrymen, and astonished their Allies. In compliance with his suggestion, or agreeably to his wishes, the Commissioner first sent to meet him, whose knowledge and penetration might

have proved less favourable to the objects had in view, was recalled; and another substituted, whose qualities were the most opposite and most unequal to his opponent's, and whom, of all mankind perhaps, could he have chosen, he himself would have first selected. It is interesting to learn with how little disguise or moderation the crafty American proceeded to practise on the simplicity of his English admirer. The Loyalists, who had been plundered, persecuted, exiled, ruined, were easily given up, because they had misled the Government, or the Government had misled them. Their claim for compensation was met with demands of satisfaction for the damages done by them, and by the King's troops. Rights of fishery, which the most friendly nation in Europe had never the assurance to ask, were conceded, as a boon indeed, but a most politic one, to efface the memory of the past, and ensure a sincere reconciliation for the future. Whatever could not be demanded for the right of his own nation, was claimed for the benefit of ours. It was urged, (a remarkable coincidence with the opinions of certain œconomists of the present day,) that the real interests of Great Britain would be best promoted, by the surrender to the new Republic, of Canada and Nova Scotia; and it was even suggested,

as a corollary to the same argument, that to secure her permanent prosperity, on that side of the Atlantic, it was only necessary to throw in the West Indies. The figure Mr. Oswald presents, at such a game, surrounded by the four American commissioners, Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens, recalls the story lately circulating in the morning papers, of Lord Nottingham among the Sharpers, one of whom reproached his companions with wasting their time in gambling with such a *flat*, '*pick the fool's pocket at once and send him home.*' How easy had it then been for Great Britain, to have prescribed such limits as she thought fit. The Kennebec on the east; the Ohio on the west; and such a Line of boundary on the north, as should have secured to us the vast tract of vacant land between their settlements and the Lakes. They had no reason to claim, nor ability to enforce, a pretence to any thing more. Their ally, the King of France, it is now known, was well disposed, both to confine them to narrower limits, and to exclude them from the fisheries. But Mr. Oswald's mercantile ideas were alarmed with the threat, that though peace indeed might be procured on such terms, a good understanding, and above all, a renewal of commercial intercourse, could never be obtained, without more

liberal concessions: as if either nations or individuals could long be induced to trade from any other motives, than reciprocal advantage, or any advantages were elsewhere to be found superior to the British market. Accordingly a Boundary was settled and described, by which a vast extent of territory, exceeding that of the whole revolted Colonies together, already valuable for its trade in furs, and which has since become populous and powerful, was given, as a premium to rebellion, to establish the new Republic, and furnish, as it has ever since, an important part of their financial resources, and the means of almost infinite increase. A faint attempt was indeed made, to reserve some part of the western territories, as an asylum for the exiled Loyalists; but Dr. Franklin *did not like such neighbours,* as he haughtily says; and Mr. Oswald thought it better to offer all, as an atonement to our enemies, than retain any, as provision for our friends. It may be that the wounded pride of the Country, or Government, found some consolation in sending a man of this description to treat with the Americans, as though the disgrace of negotiating with Rebels could be alleviated or concealed by the obscurity of the negotiator; (or was it that an Administration, every member of which had protested in parlia-

ment that the *war was unjust,* found themselves bound to act in office, consistently with their opinions in opposition?) but such unworthy indulgence either to the contempt, or indifference, or the party-spirit, of that period, has cost much to the best interests of every other. The boundary is thus described in the second article of the treaty:

"From the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, "viz. that Angle, which is formed by a line "drawn due north from the Source of St. Croix "River *to the Highlands, along the said High-* "*lands,* which divide those Rivers that empty "themselves into the *River St. Lawrence,* from "those which fall into the *Atlantic Ocean,* to "the north-western-most head of the Connecti- "cut River; thence down along the middle of "that River, to the forty-fifth degree of north "latitude; from thence by a line due west in "said latitude until it strikes the River Iroquois "or Cataraguy; thence along the middle of said "River into Lake Ontario; through the middle "of said Lake until it strikes the communication "by water, between that Lake and Lake Erie; "thence along the middle of said communica- "tion into Lake Erie; through the middle of "said Lake, until it arrives at the water com- "munication between that Lake and Lake

" Huron; thence along the middle of said water
" communication into Lake Huron; thence
" through the middle of said Lake to the water
" communication between that Lake and Lake
" Superior; thence through Lake Superior
" northward to the Isles Royal and Philipeaux,
" to the Long Lake; thence through the middle
" of said Long Lake and the water communica-
" tion between it and the Lake of the Woods
" to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through
" the said Lake to the most north-western point
" thereof; and from thence on a due west course,
" to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to
" be drawn along the middle of the said River
" Mississippi until it shall intersect the northern-
" most part of the thirty-first degree of north
" latitude;—South, by a line to be drawn due
" east from the determination of the line last
" mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees
" north of the Equator to the middle of the River
" Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along
" the middle thereof to its junction with Flint
" River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's
" River; and thence down along the middle of
" of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean;
" —East, by a line to be drawn along the middle
" of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the

" Bay of Fundy, to its source; and from its " source directly north to the aforesaid High- " lands, which divide the rivers which fall " into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall " into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending " all islands within twenty leagues of any part " of the shores of the United States, and lying " between lines to be drawn due east from the " points where the aforesaid boundaries between " Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Flo- " rida on the other, shall respectively touch *the* " *Bay of Fundy*, and *the Atlantic Ocean*, ex- " cepting such islands as now are, or heretofore " have been, within the limits of the said Pro- " vince of Nova Scotia."

Mr. Oswald returned to England, to weep, (he burst into tears), when convinced of what he had betrayed; and Franklin, to exult, and tell his English friends, *they had now nothing to do but send deputies to the American Congress;* a jest, which excited but a smile in those days, would provoke a sneer in these, but which yet may have tears for posterity.

This Treaty was scarcely more injurious for its enormous concessions, than its uncertainty in defining the limits of what was still retained. The questions that necessarily arose were many

and difficult, and the subtilty of the American government has contrived to add others, less obvious perhaps, but more vexatious. Of these, some have been settled, greatly to the dissatisfaction of our fellow subjects in that quarter, but among those which are still undetermined, it is the NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY, which involves the most serious consequences, and towards which it is the object of these pages, to solicit some attention. On this side, the first difficulty was, to ascertain which River was meant by the designation of ST. CROIX, and what branch of that River was its source; for our politic statesman had commenced his Boundary from a point altogether unknown, to be discovered by reference to another point equally uncertain, a River, whose mouth, and source, and name, were in dispute. By the treaty of 1794 this difference was referred to Commissioners. They disagreed. In that case, they were to nominate an umpire. A most unequal compromise was suggested and adopted. The British Commissioner was to have the nomination, but the umpire to be a Citizen of the United States. A person so chosen could hardly have been expected to decide otherwise, than that the Schoodic was the river St. Croix, and its *most eastern branch* the source; though, if the ancient boundaries of Nova Scotia de-

served any consideration, its charter had in express and very forcible terms appointed, *the most Western fountain or spring.*

The labours of this Commission extended no further than to ascertain the river St. Croix, and the point of commencement for the North line. The termination at THE HIGHLANDS, that is, the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, remained unexplored. In this state of the question, the war of 1812 intervened; and the peace of 1815 was made, without any further settlement of the dispute, than the appointment of a second Commission; (except indeed that by inserting in the treaty the name of '*Grand Manan,*' the Americans were admitted to add a new claim, which had never before been heard of imagined, and which was so ruinous to us, and so untenable in them, that it has been happily compromised by some minor sacrifice.) These Commissioners could not agree. The Emperor of Russia, to whom, agreeably to the treaty, the question was referred, decided that the parties should arrange it by negotiation. And negotiations for that purpose, it is believed, are now pending.

The spirit and intention of the Treaty of 1783, seem clearly to have been, to establish, between the two countries in this quarter, what is termed

an *arcifinius* BOUNDARY, such a line of separation, as should give to neither party the advantages for attack, but serve mutually for the defence of both, or especially of that, whose dominions were most likely to be invaded. Accordingly, having first recorded their regard "for the reciprocal advantages and mutual conveniences of both Nations," and their design "to settle the boundary upon such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two Countries may be established, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace," they proceed to delineate the only Land-marks, and to lay down the only principle, which in this quarter, could answer such ends, viz. *that Chain of Highlands which should divide the heads of Rivers, whose mouths and courses were within the actual Provinces of the respective claimants.* Thus the party possessing the mouth of any stream, would possess also its whole course to the fountain head. This was obviously the most equitable adjustment, and the most natural boundary. The entire course of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and other Rivers, flowing into the Atlantic ocean,

would be thus secured to the United States, and a reciprocal advantage afforded to us in the possession of the Chaudiere, and other streams, that discharged their waters within our territories. Between two nations no separation is so distinct, no barrier so effectual, as a mountainous frontier; and as Rivers, in new countries, are the great High-ways of nature, and almost the only means of communication and transport, any other division must give to one party a most unequal advantage for invasion in war, and to both, continual disputes in trade and navigation in time of peace. The Line of separation was therefore to be drawn "from "the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, that "is, the Angle formed by a due north line drawn "from the source of the St. Croix to THE "HIGH LANDS, *along the said High Lands*, "dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic, "from those that fall into the river St. Law-"rence, to the North-western Head of the Con-"necticut river." Now as no part of the British possessions, in this quarter (their western boundary being the St. Croix) touched the Atlantic, nor of the American the St. Lawrence, the principle and object of the treaty evidently was, *to give them the Heads of the Rivers that*

flowed to the Ocean into and through their Territory, and us, of those that flowed into and through ours. Indeed, the description in the treaty, coupled with this fact just stated, must be considered as quite synonymous with this interpretation.

Perhaps the fairest and most intelligible manner of stating the difference between the two Governments is this. The source of the St. Croix is ascertained: the North line surveyed: there are some where High Lands that divide the streams to the Atlantic from those to the St. Lawrence, because the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, Rivers of respectable magnitude, flow, in contrary directions, from neighbouring sources, on opposite sides of the same Heights, the latter to the St. Lawrence, the former to the ocean. So far are both parties agreed. The description of the treaty is in these points fully answered, according to the interpretation of both Countries. But the difficulty is, *that North Line, in which both parties acquiesce, does not intersect those High Lands, upon which both are agreed.* It was in this light perhaps that the question presented itself to the Russian Government, who seem to have considered this circumstance as *an omitted case*, which was most proper, (or most expedient), to be settled by

further treaty. Regarding it in the same view, a just and prudent arbitrator perhaps, who could venture to apply to a political dispute, the reasoning of private conduct, had not found it so impossible to terminate the controversy under the existing treaty and reference. 'Gentlemen,' he might have said, 'the points in this question 'which are undenied, may lead to an easy solu- 'tion of the matters in debate. Produce your 'North line. Place me on that point of the 'Boundary where you are both agreed; for 'example, that part of the High Lands that 'separates the waters of the Chaudiere from 'those of the Penobscot or the Kennebec; and 'I shall thence follow *those High Lands* down, 'easterly, till I meet your North line, and mark 'out your Boundary; taking care, if I cannot 'always observe the precise letter, to pursue 'the strict principle, of the treaty, and adhere at 'least to its abstract description; that is, I shall 'include within the United States, the Heads of 'all those Rivers whose courses flow through 'their territories to the Atlantic ocean; the rest 'of the country belongs still to its ancient 'Sovereign.'

That this is the only just basis upon which these differences could be arranged by arbitration, and the only safe and honourable one to be

settled by treaty, may be further approved by examining the respective Lines, claimed by us, and the United States, and the probable consequences of accepting either.

In exploring this Boundary, the American Government seems to have assumed the principle, that if no such *High Lands* existed, or existed where they would not be intersected by the North line, or intersected, would not divide Rivers agreeably to the strict letter of the treaty, they were then to go up to the St. Lawrence, and fix the north-west angle of Nova Scotia on the very shore of that River. Accordingly they pass over a high and extensive range of elevated Land, which, compared with the other heights and features of the whole Tract, would readily be called and recognized as THE HIGH LANDS, but which they deny to be the HIGH LANDS *in the treaty*, because though these would indeed divide the Heads of Rivers, and give them the course and source of all that flow into and through the United States, and us of all that flow into and through our Territories, yet if the streams on this side empty into the Atlantic, those on the other do not join the St. Lawrence. They pass on, therefore, and meet the St. John's. And here it should be recalled to mind, that neither their Ministers in nego-

tiating the treaty, nor their Agents under the first Commission, had ever dreamed of extending the most extravagant of their pretensions beyond the *right bank* of this river, which they wished to be accepted as the *real St. Croix*, but which, in each instance, was resisted by us, and finally relinquished by them.* Indeed, both the language and the principle of the Treaty, are conclusive evidence, that its negotiators could never have entertained the intention, nor conceived the possibility, of touching, or intersecting, this River; or else in describing a Boundary, which was evidently to pursue the great natural Land-marks of the country, they had never, not only neglected so important a feature, but adopted a principle of separating Heads of Rivers, utterly inapplicable to the Tract to be divided. Now, however, the Americans have the courage to pass the stream, and on the left bank push on their north line. Having intersected the St. John's, leaving the lower half to us, and the upper to themselves, they proceed in their course to intersect its numerous Branches, the lower parts of which are to be theirs, and the upper for us. They pass on, over a beautiful and well wooded country, of gentle hills and valleys, till, instead of

* *See Appendix, No. I.*

streams running westerly to the St. John's, they meet with waters that flow easterly to the Bay of Chaleur, a branch of the Gulph of St. Lawrence. These they intersect, taking the source and upper part to themselves, and leaving the rest of their course to us. They pass on, and when a few miles more would have carried them into the Gulph, or River, of St. Lawrence, by whatever name the arm of the sea at that point is to be called, and they meet a stream flowing into it, they have the conscience to stop. And here is the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, and if there chance to be a hill in the neighbourhood, these are the *High Lands.* Here they turn upon their heel, and follow *these High Lands* down to the south-west and south, dividing, *first,* the streams that flow into the River St. Lawrence, from those that empty into a part of the Gulph, called the bay of Chaleur, both within our Territories; *next,* the waters that flow into the River St. Lawrence, from those that flow into the St. John's, both within, or falling into, our acknowledged Territories; keeping often in sight of, and never at any great distance from, the very bank of the former stream; until, at last, to get round the sources of the Chaudiere, they must turn almost to the

south-east, and making a considerable bend, join *the* HIGH LANDS upon which both parties are agreed.

And this, they would persuade us, is the execution of that treaty, which had proposed for its object "*the reciprocal advantages and mutual conveniences of both parties*": this the Boundary it contemplated and described: which is to sever the British provinces from each other, and the Canadas from Great Britain, "*upon principles of liberal equity and reciprocity*": which has stripped us of a natural and defensible frontier, "*to exclude all partial advantages*": intersected Waters in a manner to leave no question of navigation uninvolved, that "*the seeds of discord might be removed*": and planted, in fine, the American posts and people in the rear of the St. John's, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, "*to promote and secure to both countries perpetual peace*"!

But, say the Americans, if your Ministers have made an absurd division, see you to that; it is enough for us that we fulfil the Treaty. Here is the boundary agreeably to its express words, and literal meaning; for the waters on the one side of these *High Lands* flow into the St. Lawrence, on the other, into the Atlantic.

This argument is the chief foundation of their whole pretensions. It may be easily shewn to rest upon false assumptions, and fallacious reasoning. For first, a continuous *Chain of High Lands*, dividing waters in the manner they describe, or in any other similar manner, *does not exist* in the quarter and direction they would run their Boundary. On the contrary, *those High Lands* are repeatedly interrupted and intersected, by low and marshy ground, and by other High Land crossing their line, and what is conclusive, even by Rivers. *Next*, the streams on the one side do indeed flow into the St. Lawrence, (except, that at the point, where they fix the North-west Angle, that water would perhaps be rather described as a portion of the *Gulph*,) but the rivers on the other side *do not fall into the Atlantic ocean*. Ultimately, indeed, it is well known, that all rivers fall into the Ocean, of which all seas, gulphs, and bays, are in some sense a part; but in questions of geography, or hydrography, separate names are given and used for these several parts, and are applied in *contradistinction to each other*, and *to the whole*. Nor can it be said that the parties, or makers of the treaty, were ignorant of, or averse to, these distinctions, which the common sense and common usage of mankind has constantly recog-

nized, for they themselves have made use of them, and in this very Treaty, and more than once. In the sense therefore in which the treaty applies the words, these Streams do not fall into "*the Atlantic.*" They fall into the St. John's, or they fall into "*the Bay of Fundy,*" nay, they fall into "*the Gulph of St. Lawrence,*" divisions of water, to which those names are given by the Treaty, in distinction from "*the Atlantic,*" which, as it touched no part of a coast bounded by the St. Croix, so it could receive no Rivers that flowed through our Territories; and for that reason the Heads of all Rivers that reached it were assigned to the United States. In this understanding the object of the treaty, in describing the High Lands, appears obvious, its principle rational, and advantages reciprocal. If this sense be rejected, the apparent basis becomes not only inapplicable and absurd, but it is impossible to substitute any other theory for so unaccountable a Boundary, or conceive what purpose was had in view, what motive proposed, or what madness or folly possessed the negotiators, that they laid down a line, the very figure and appearance of which, on the Map, are as fantastic, as the difficulties it involves are obvious, and the consequences alarming.

Let us now examine, and compare with this,

the Boundary as claimed by the British Commissioners. It commences from the same point, and runs in the same direction North. On approaching the western Bank of the St. John's, it intersects the range of HIGH LANDS already alluded to, rising from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and extending in unbroken ridges in a western course. Here we find that feature of the Country, that elevation of Land, which, from its height and extent, would be easily recognized, and termed, in a geographical description of the tract, "THE HIGH LANDS." Here, therefore, at Mars Hill, the name given to the height intersected, we terminate the North line, and fix the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia. Thence we follow these Heights of land, dividing the Heads of Rivers, leaving the St. John's, its source and branches, flowing to the northward and eastward into our Territories, on the right, the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and other intermediate streams, flowing south-westerly, into theirs, on the left, till we reach the fountains of the Chaudiere, where we are joined by the American Commissioners, and proceed together to the Connecticut. It is a fact of great importance, and which has been ascertained by actual survey, that the High Lands, at the point where we are joined by the

American Commissioners, and upon which both parties are agreed, are evidently the continuation of the heights from Mars Hill, and the whole together form one and the same Chain. By this Line we execute the principle of the Treaty, for we divide the Rivers, running in contrary directions into the respective territories of each, at their sources. We fulfil its object, of *equity, reciprocity, the exclusion of partial advantages, ("those seeds of discord,") and the foundation of perpetual peace,* for we establish such an *Carcifinius Boundary,* as alone, without exposing their Provinces to attack, could possibly leave ours capable of defence. And, finally, we do no violence to the letter of the Treaty. For the objection to these *High Lands,* on this score, may be fairly reduced to this; the words of the treaty are, "Rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence:" there are waters, on the northern side of *these High Lands,* that flow into the river St. Lawrence; *but there are also,* that fall by the river St. John's into the Bay of Fundy. Now, if indeed we are to get over this difficulty by verbal subtilty, and the most venial equivocation is to prevail, it certainly appears less sophistical in the Americans to say, the Bay of Fundy is the Atlantic Ocean, than for us to pretend that the Bay of Fundy is the

river St. Lawrence; though, to an accurate reasoner, who consulted the distinctions in the Treaty, the prevarication on both sides would appear nearly equal: but if the principle and basis of the Line be kept in view, and we endeavour to reconcile to them any seeming discrepance in the words, may we not say to this objection, that there is nevertheless nothing in the description of this Boundary by the treaty inconsistent with the facts of the Survey, though there are indeed other and more facts in the Survey than are mentioned in the description; still if these other geographical facts are of a similar nature, and included within the same reason, (viz. Rivers flowing into and through our actual Territories,) ought they not to be intended to fall within the same division? Besides, what is it to the Americans, where the rivers north of the High Lands discharge? It is enough for them that all on the South flow immediately to the Atlantic, or at least that all which flow immediately to the Atlantic are on the South side. Those are all the Treaty conceded to them, and all, which were not conceded, belong still to their ancient Sovereign, by title paramount, wherever they discharge. It is no objection to our claim therefore, that "*the Bay of Fundy*" is not "*the St. Lawrence,*" while it is conclusive

against theirs that "*the Bay of Fundy*" is not "*the Atlantic Ocean.*" For granted, that as the Treaty gives them those Rivers only which flow into the Atlantic, so it assigns to us those only which fall into the St. Lawrence, and that the River St. John's, which empties into the Bay of Fundy, is *an omitted case;* still, to whom does it now belong? To the King, who owned and possessed it years before the Treaty? Or to the Republic, which neither owned, nor possessed, nor claimed it, till after? But the Boundary at and from the North-west Angle is marked and described by *two* facts, or circumstances, the *Elevation of land,* and the *Division of rivers.* The former, which, as it is *first,* and *separately,* mentioned in the treaty, merits perhaps at least an equal consideration, is strictly pursued by the Line we claim, for throughout the whole Survey north to the shore of the St. Lawrence, has no range of heights been intersected, more prominent in elevation, or unbroken in extent. The latter designation, the *Division of rivers,* in the strict and literal sense to which they would confine the Treaty, is found utterly inapplicable to the country intersected by the North line. Now if one part of the description be consistent, and one part at variance, with the geography of the Tract surveyed, and the part which is consistent

be a Land-mark sufficient for our direction, and the part which is at variance easily reconciled with the other, by recurring to the principle, and to what may be considered the *abstract delineation* of the Boundary, why should we not adopt so obvious a solution of the difficulty, and follow THE HIGH LANDS, and divide the waters that fall into the Atlantic from those that fall into the St. Lawrence, agreeably to the letter of the Treaty, where we can, and where we cannot, divide the waters that flow through their Territories, that is, into "*the Atlantic*," from those that flow into the St. John's, and "*Bay of Fundy*," that is, through our Territories, agreeably to the reason and basis of the division.

These considerations have not been mentioned so much with any view of setting forth the arguments, that support the claims of the British or American Governments, which are respectively assisted or impugned by many other collateral reasons, but rather to discover the aims and disposition of the United States, and introduce and explain the late extraordinary proceedings of that Republic. For such being the state of the question, and negotiations respecting this Boundary between the two Countries being now pending, and that possession and jurisdiction over the disputed Territory of

the Crown of Great Britain, which had commenced from the conquest or cession of Nova Scotia and Canada, years before the existence of an American republic, still continuing and uninterrupted, (and not merely the constructive possession of Public or Municipal law, but the actual exercise of sovereignty and jurisdiction, by Grants of land, Issuing of writs, Training militia, Licences to cut timber on the vacant forest, and all other the same duties and privileges of British subjects existing there, as are known at Halifax or Quebec); it seems to have been now thought in the United States, as inconsistent with the free and independent spirit of *'the American People,'* to expect longer the result of those negotiations; and accordingly, during the last year, they resolved, *"that possessory "acts on their part should be resorted to with- "out delay."* In compliance with their request, the King had just before discontinued and recalled his Licences, heretofore granted for cutting Timber on the vacant Forest; an act of courtesy, or concession, which, as it surprised and injured his subjects there, so it might have conciliated the Americans, but which, in the true spirit of friendship and reciprocity, was thus returned. Two of those free, sovereign, and independent Republics, which form the confederacy

of the United States, to whose general authority their obedience seems in a great measure voluntary and uncertain, the States of Massachusetts and Maine, whose territories adjoin this Boundary, agreed immediately in concurrence with each other in Resolutions to the following purport and words—

"Forthwith to take effectual measures to ascer-
"tain the extent of the depredations committed
"on the lands of this Commonwealth," (Massachusetts) "and the State of Maine, by whom
"the same have been committed, and under
"what Authority, if any, such depredations
"have been made, and all other facts necessary
"to bring the offenders to justice; also to make
"and execute good and sufficient deeds, con-
"veying to the settlers on the undivided public
"lands on the St. John's and Madawaska
"Rivers in actual possession as aforesaid, their
"heirs and assigns, 100 acres each of the land
"by them possessed, to include their improve-
"ments on their respective lots, they paying
"to the said Agents for the use of this Com-
"monwealth five dollars each, and the expense
"of surveying the same; and also to sell the
"timber on such of the undivided public Lands
"as lie contiguous to or near to the waters of
"the river St. John's, in all cases where

"such sale will in the opinion of the Land "Agents promote the interest of this Common-"wealth."

In the style and language of these Resolutions, it is interesting to observe that peculiar precision and energy of expression, in which this people has made such amazing progress, since they emancipated themselves from the thraldom of English Sovereignty and English Grammar, and established the Independence of 'the American people' and 'American tongue.' 'The depredations' that are here mentioned are the acts of cultivation of British subjects, the King's grantees. '*The Authority under which the same have been made,*' is the King's Representative, who fixed His Great Seal to their grants; and these are *the offenders to be brought to justice:* 'the undivided public laws on the St. John's and Madawaska rivers' are the private estates of British subjects, held by such grants of the crown, of twenty or thirty years date, in lots of 500 to 2000 acres, '100 of which, to include the improvements,' (the cultivated portion,) are to be confirmed to them each 'by good and sufficient deeds of conveyance,' from this generous Republic: in consideration of which gracious benevolence, the said grantees are to pay a small fine of five dollars each, 'for the use of this

Commonwealth, and the expense of surveying the same' (not the Commonwealth, it is presumed, but the estates of the colonists:) and finally, the timber which is thus to be there sold is as much parcel of the King's Dêmesnes as the trees in Windsor Forest, and by title older than the birth of that Government, which so modestly questions the right, and so delicately anticipates the decision. Not Captain Rock, not Stafford Sutton Cooke, ever gave notice to their tenants, with more scrupulous deference to the pretensions of an usurping Landlord; no Hue and cry in the Police Gazette ever described trespasses partaking of felony, in terms more guarded and indulgent. Considering the nature of the offence, and the character of '*the offenders,*' this moderation can only be accounted for by the habitual respect, which it is so necessary to observe in the United States, towards that description of Inhabitants called *Squatters.*

But if there was much in the words and expressions of these Resolutions that called loudly for the due acknowledgments of the British Government, care was taken that their execution should add to the obligation. The public Land-Agents of these two States are jointly commissioned, and dispatched, the following summer, (of 1825,) to enforce their rights to the Territory

in question, and reclaim the possession. With a party of men they arrive; "make domiciliary visits to many of the settlers," (the words of their own report,) "explain the object of their visit, and commence surveying the settlers' lots, of 100 acres each, to several of whom they make deeds," (for the consideration, we presume, above enjoined;) "post up notices of the disposition of the State towards the settlers at the Church and at the corn-mills," and appoint two Agents with power to grant permits for cutting timber. They speak, with praise, of the beauty and fertility of the country, and of the industry and hospitality of the Inhabitants, whom they represent to be "well deserving the fostering care of govern-"ment, having grants from the Province of New "Brunswick," in which "they have little confidence, and desirous of purchasing at a fair rate" a good title from their friendly visitors, who succeed in persuading some to make application to their Legislature for that purpose. This much is collected from their Report itself, and from the forwardness with which these facts are avowed, and the industry with which they are published and circulated, these Governments really appear to have been afraid lest their conduct in this respect should pass unknown or unobserved; and while we admire their fostering

attention to the king's subjects in that quarter, we cannot but wonder at the ostentation with which it is proclaimed. But from other sources it is discovered that the zeal of these Agents carried them so far, as to endeavour to persuade the Colonists no longer to muster at the Militia Trainings, which were about to take place under the King's Government of New Brunswick, offering to pay their fines, and omitting no means to seduce their affections; which seem not to have succeeded as was desired, since the Trainings were attended in the usual manner, and a company, it is said, set out in pursuit of the American emissaries, and had they been some hours later in their retreat, the Courts of Law in the Province, might have rendered those acknowledgements to the individuals employed, which their Employers can expect from the Imperial Government alone. On their return, the Report, already mentioned (*and hereto annexed**) is made by these Agents, to their respective Governments. It concludes by recommending, for the Country they have visited, "that *two* "*Justices of the Peace be commissioned;* that "a *Deputy Sheriff* or Constable be appointed; "and that *one or more Military Districts be*

* *Appendix, No.* 3.

"*formed* at Madawaska, and at a suitable time "so organized that they may have a Represen- "tative in the Legislature of Maine." Measures, which the same report assures us, have met with the entire approbation of the Executive of that Commonwealth.

Doubtless, persons were not wanting in the States, that adopted those Resolutions, (for there are in that country men of justice and honour, in all the offices of public, and private life, but who, from the nature of their Constitution, have too little influence upon the measures of the Government); who, we may believe, failed not to protest against so bold a defiance of national Law, and demonstrate the danger and impolicy of such an attempt: that by the clearest principle of natural equity, and the acknowledged usage of civilized Nations, the party in possession could never be disturbed before the decision of the controversy: that the idea of strengthening their claim by possessory acts at this hour was absurd in the extreme: that the endeavour either to steal possession, or usurp it by force, was an insult no Nation could be so weak as to dissemble, or so spiritless as to endure; still less that Power, which had often commenced hostilities for slighter provocation and less worthy cause; which, when formerly the Spaniards seized

the disputed Territory of Nootka Sound, a desolate, useless possession, on the other side of the Globe, flew instantly to arms; and which here, within our own memory, when France seemed to be encroaching, in fifty-five, from the frontiers of Canada, thought it not too much to light up war in the four quarters of the world, to vindicate her honour, and avenge her subjects. Do not imagine that such a Power is to be thus footed, like a stranger cur, from their possession, but expect rather the revival of that national policy, which their Indian Allies would gladly hail, as *the Dog who bites before he barks;* expect the Fleet and Garrison of Halifax again at the Penobscot. And, finally, that the measure proposed was of all others the most likely to defeat the object in view. Why provoke the attention of that Government to a subject, from whose indifference to which we have every thing to hope, and nothing from intimidation? Why teach her the value of the possession by our eagerness to seize it? Or what former question, either of commercial intercourse, or territorial right, had been so compromised, that we should repent or be weary of negotiating? Since there are two ways of acquiring Territory, by force, and by treaty, let us adhere to that in which we have

been most successful; for though, if we meet resistance, we may retrace our steps, we cannot easily allay the irritation these Resolutions must produce, or explain their offensive terms.

There were others, on the contrary, who considered this the language of the inveterate Apologists of Great Britain, and suited rather to their former dependence, or the infancy of their freedom, than its present maturity of strength and wisdom: who refused to understand how the law of nations could be more violated by possessory acts on their part, than on hers: who denied that any apprehension or argument could be derived from ancient examples of British spirit and policy, for time, while it had developed and matured the resources of America, had been adding to the burthens of England; and however high had been her courage, and successful her dictates, to the Slaves and Despots of Asia, and of Europe, nothing had yet been seen of it, on this side of the water, that seemed equal to her power, or worthy of her fame; whether it was that history had exaggerated the prowess of her arms, or that her spirit cowered, and her destinies declined, before the ascendancy of American valour. It was not by such temporizing policy that the Floridas had been added to the Union,

but by boldly occupying with force, what Spain delayed to concede by treaty, and doing ourselves that justice, which, if we are to wait upon the pleasure of Courts in Europe, we may for ever expect. Nor could it be answered that a different measure of respect might be found expedient for the King of Spain, and the King of Great Britain; the acquisition of Moose Island had originated in no other means than these now to be adopted; that example was sufficient to prove, either that possession was not so sacred a thing as by some is imagined, or that Great Britain was accustomed to its violation, and knew how to bear it with better temper, than her admirers have supposed. Then cease to threaten us with what is due to the dignity of her Empire, but consult rather the character of our own, and if you can remember the war of 55, do not forget that of 76, unless perhaps we defied and vanquished that kingdom fifty years ago, to tremble now at her displeasure, or be less forward to assert our right at this day, and take possession of our own. The Territory in question belongs neither to Great Britain nor to the General Government of the United States, but to the Commonwealths of Massachusetts and Maine; why should we

expect the negotiation of two parties, to either of whom we deny the right?

Whatever may have been the language used, we feel assured it was on the balance of such motives and arguments, that these resolutions were approved and enforced. Upon which side the reason lay, remains to be decided by the event. Communications, it seems, have been made by the Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick to the King's Minister at Washington, and in consequence of his remonstrance, the further execution of the measure has been for the present suspended. How soon it may be resumed, and to what extent carried, will depend upon the degree of patience with which the past shall be endured.

The Constitution of the United States, as the undoubted perfection of political economy, has many other claims to our admiration, and particularly this also, that the difficulties it presents with regard to foreign relations, however annoying to other Powers, are extremely convenient for themselves. A Treaty ratified by their Executive may, it seems, be rejected by the Senate; accepted by the Senate, the Representatives in Congress may refuse laws necessary for its execution; confirmed and sanctioned by

the Laws of Congress, the obedience of the several States is voluntary and uncertain, for the authority of the Federal Government appears to be sometimes unsettled and disputed in theory, and, in fact, always destitute of compulsory force. In the present instance also they can hardly fail to have recourse to such expedients. The General Government will probably disavow the measure, and deny the power of the two Commonwealths to usurp this Territory; the two Commonwealths will deny the power of the General Government to concede it. In either case Great Britain feels the inconvenience, and the United States the advantage. The House of Representatives in Congress, and still more the *State Legislatures*, are mostly composed of men, who seem to entertain no very accurate, or very scrupulous, ideas on the Law of Nations. The Puritans of the North find nothing about it in their Bibles, and the Free-thinkers of the South would not regard it if they did.

Certainly a more barefaced aggression, so solemnly resolved, so boldly executed, and so openly proclaimed, has been seldom suffered, or suffered with impunity, between two Nations. Not that the United States have never before sent emissaries to seduce the subjects, or usurp

the dominions of a friendly Power, but always with some pretexts to excuse, or in a manner to palliate the intrusion, or, at least, with secrecy to conceal it. But here no circumstance of injustice and contumely appears to be wanting. A People, with whom we are on terms of the most confident amity, with whom the King has been long endeavouring to settle, by reference and negotiation, questions of Boundary, and every other difference, are not afraid, nor ashamed, by the deliberate acts of two of their Legislatures, to declare an extensive Territory, (of which, to say nothing of the right, we are in possession, a possession too, older than their existence), to be their own public undivided Lands; to affect to consider and treat its Inhabitants and Authorities as trespassers and criminals; order them to be dispossessed, and brought to justice; send thither their public Agents to cut and seize the King's Timber, to resume and sell the land he had granted, intrigue with and seduce his subjects, supersede his Government, establish the civil jurisdiction and military organization of their Republic; and, in short, completely transfer to themselves, without further ceremony, the full sovereignty and propriety of the whole Country. The attention of the Public in England is so constantly engaged

by objects of more immediate, or more alluring interest, that it can hardly for a moment be directed to a matter so remote and so imperfectly understood; but in that quarter of the Empire, this event has been beheld with astonishment and indignation by all classes of the King's Subjects. In the most solemn manner their situation and constitution admit, they have hastened to send home their humble Representation,* of the injury done and threatened, to their properties, and their Sovereign's rights, and lay at the foot of the Throne, their earnest prayers for protection; and are now looking with anxious eyes to the conduct of the Imperial Government, to learn whether they will still suffer their facility or indifference to be cajoled by the fair professions of that Republic, or will, at last, be awakened to its real character of turbulence and aggression, and convinced of the necessity of never yielding an inch to a Nation, whose demands rise upon every concession, and whose strength is increasing with every demand. For it is indeed a melancholy thing, particularly for British Subjects in those Colonies, to see Great Britain, their Mother Country, that once possessed the whole Continent of North Ame-

* *Appendix, No.* 4.

rica, driven in this manner, from the Kennebec to the Penobscot, from the Penobscot to the St. Croix, from the St. Croix to the St. John's, and now, finally, from the St. John's up to the very verge and shore of the St. Lawrence, not by conquest or the decline of her power and Empire, but through the mere address and cunning of a People, who seem ashamed of no means in advancing a pretext, and regard neither the rights, nor the common courtesies of Nations, in asserting their claims. Still more humiliating must it be, if Great Britain has now to endure from that Republic, on the eastern extremity of their dominions, the same violation of Territory, which they inflicted with so much insult and triumph, on the King of Spain, in the South. "*The Americans have no conscience, Father,*" said the Indian Chief, in his *talk* to Sir George Provost, "*they have no heart; they will drive us beyond the setting Sun:*"—*and they will push you into the Sea,* he might have added; for unless a stand be now made to prevent it, they eventually will.

The decision of the present question may be found to involve no less a consequence. For there appear to be four principal objects to be secured, or compromised, by the settlement of this Boundary.

First. A Tract of Land, highly valuable for its extent, quality, and situation. It comprises upwards of 10,000 square miles; is covered with a thick and lofty growth of the finest timber; (the native beauty of the Country has not escaped the observation and praise of the American Agents); it is watered by frequent lakes and rivers, the St. John's, and its numerous branches, communicating with the sea, by safe and uninterrupted navigation, (with the single exception of the Grand Falls, which may be easily overcome,) and flowing into and through our actual Territories, of which they are naturally, and almost necessarily, a portion. This Tract is at present very partially cultivated, and thinly peopled: but the pretensions of the United States once removed, it would immediately be occupied. No part of our foreign Possessions offers more encouragement to the emigrant than this district, and if Government will at last be ever persuaded to take up and conduct the business of Emigration, in a manner worthy its results to the Empire and mankind, there is no place where it should sooner be our care to establish a body of loyal and industrious Settlers, who, ceasing to be a burthen here, would there add strength to our dominions, and in a very critical point.

Secondly, An object of higher importance is *a defensible line of Frontier.* To establish an *arcifinius* Boundary between the two Countries in this quarter, was as clearly the intention of the Treaty, as it is indispensably necessary for our security. If the present claims of the United States are conceded, and they pass the River St. John's, or even if they reach and possess its western Bank, the whole Province of New Brunswick lies at their mercy. Occupying the upper part of such a stream, the country below could never be protected, from contraband trade, in time of peace, nor from invasion in time of war. All the difficulties of preparation and transport, for attack, will then be overcome with security within their own Territory, and their descent into ours will only offer increased facilities in proportion as they advance. The only Line of division, which can distinctly separate the two Countries, and secure the weaker, as in this quarter Great Britain must be considered to be, against the aggression of the other, is to divide the Heads of Rivers, agreeably to the principle of the Treaty, by the High Lands from Mars Hill. Indeed, it is not too much to affirm, that this is the only practicable Frontier, which the relations of the two Powers, and the geography of the Country, can admit. The

Boundary must be either Mars Hill, or the Isthmus of Cumberland, or the Penobscot. A meridian Line over such an extent of territory, intersecting Rivers in such a manner, can never exist. A division, full of inconvenience for two Parishes, and almost impracticable for Counties in the same Kingdom, can hardly answer between two Nations. Between two Nations, having a common language, opposite maxims of government, incessant intercourse, conflicting interests, and a mutual and undisguised jealousy and rivalry of each other, such a Frontier can only produce continued collision and endless disputes, and must sooner or later end in a struggle, which, if there be no other recourse, Great Britain had better anticipate than defer.

It will be in vain that the possession of Grand Manan has confirmed to us the controul of the Bay of Fundy, or that by again seizing the mouth of the Penobscot, that controul may be secured, and extended along the adjacent American Coasts, if the United States are thus to acquire in our rear the command of a River, which flows through the midst of New Brunswick, and whose various branches communicate by an easy navigation, with almost every quarter of the Province. The immediate consequence to

be apprehended, must be, the case of a rupture with that Power, the attack and conquest of this Colony, and it may not be without use to anticipate the remoter, but no less important, and no less probable, consequences. The neighbouring Province of Nova Scotia becomes exposed at almost every point to attack from the mouth of the same Stream. The St. John's, by one of the greatest curiosities of nature, presents difficulties at its entrance, which might be easily so strengthened, that no force from Sea could penetrate it. Here then the enemy would have every convenience and security for preparing their Flotilla, and would expect in safety their opportunity for crossing, by a few hours course, to the opposite shore. Nor could any naval superiority prevent the occurrence, or repair the effects, of such opportunities. The nature of the Bay of Fundy renders the assistance of ships of war uncertain in summer, and in winter their very presence impracticable. Thus the natural defences of the Isthmus of Cumberland would be turned, taken in the rear, or become useless, and instead of a long, difficult, and circuitous march to the strongest, and perhaps an impregnable, entrance of that Province, the enemy gain the choice, and access, of the weakest, and in five days, an

American army from the mouth of the St. John's, might be cannonading the forts and ships of Halifax Harbour. But it is hardly necessary to inquire how long Nova Scotia could be retained, were New Brunswick lost, or how long Halifax or any other Place defended, were Nova Scotia overrun, or how the American Coast could be blockaded, or even a superior Fleet maintained in those waters, with no Harbour for shelter, or repair, to the northward of Bermuda, and westward of Ireland; (though perhaps one might reasonably extend the consideration of these consequences so far, as to question the safety of our West India commerce, or even the possession of those Islands, and still more the security of Newfoundland, and the Fishery on its banks): it is sufficient, that, without any pretension to military science, it must be obvious to any one, who either has any acquaintance with the country, or even considers its situation on the Map, that the acquisition of such an advantage by an enemy, and its loss on our part, must greatly increase their chances of conquest, and the cost and difficulty of our defence.

3rd. The third consequence involved in the settlement of this Boundary, is the Connexion together of the British Colonies, and their Com-

munication with each other. That Wedge of territory, which the United States are endeavouring to drive up between Canada and New Brunswick, will most effectually separate the upper and lower Divisions of our possessions in America, and expose the Frontier of the former Province, no less, than it commands the occupation of the latter. A long and narrow strip of land, scarce thirteen miles in width, along the shore, at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, (which is all they would here leave us, in this quarter, on the right bank,) cannot be considered a very tenable possession. The navigation of the river becomes endangered, and the very passage of the Mails extremely circuitous, and extremely precarious. The situation of New Brunswick renders it the centre of our Empire on that Continent, and the Territory in question is the very point of union; and as a prudent Commander would reserve his chief force and vigilance, for the protection of that position which secures the connexion and support of each extreme, no less anxiety should be shewn by a wary Government, along the Line of its dominions, more especially if so critical a part has already attracted the desires, and even the attempts, of our Adversary. In a commercial as

well as political view, this Connexion has now become of consequence, and the course of future events may prove it far more important. For if the Union of all those Colonies under one General Government, as is sometimes suggested, should ever take place; or if, by any unforeseen exigency, the ties between them and the Mother Country should ever become less intimate, or less effectual, such a Communication and Connexion would become to them an important bond of Union, and would create and secure a community of feeling and interest, and prevent their falling separately into the hands of that neighbouring Republic, whose power and commerce already threaten to rival Great Britain, and to whose increase, except in the present instance, we do not know what other opportunity will be ever found to prescribe a limit.

4th. But if these considerations appear of remoter interest, there are others more immediate, and perhaps more important. For it is not merely the communication between the Colonies themselves that is at stake, but the communication, between the Canadas and the Sea, between the *Canadas* and *Great Britain*. During eight months of the year, from the first of September to May, not even an answer from

England to any intelligence from Quebec, can be there received, except through the United States, or through the Province of New Brunswick. Supposing the latter communication interrupted, (as it will be most effectually, if any other Boundary is accepted, but that claimed by His Majesty's Commissioners,) it may easily be conceived what advantages an enemy in that country would possess, who should commence hostilities a little before that period, in the month of August or July, and thus have nearly a twelvemonth to overrun those Colonies, before they could receive the assistance of a single man, or a single musquet, from the Mother Country; whose armament, on arriving, the next June, might possibly find the enemy encamped on the Heights of Abram, or their very flag on the Walls of Quebec. Or if the Nation, with whom we have to contend, were such, as would probably overlook this advantage, still should any disaster occur in the course of the war, how injurious must be so long a delay, and how frequently must succour arrive too late. In short, is it possible for Great Britain to retain and defend a country, from which she would not only be so perfectly severed, by distance and climate, but of the very occurrences in which she must

remain in utter ignorance, during the greater part of the year.

It is not merely a Route to convey the Mails that is wanted, (which the Americans would very speciously offer, by a proposed exchange of territory, leaving us the left side of the Madawaska, for an equivalent on the right of the St. John's, and which even then would continue at their mercy,) but a Military Line of communication, the means of transporting troops and stores, from St. John's, or Halifax, to Quebec, with convenience and security. The advantages of this Line have been already in some measure perceived. During the late War, regiments were marched through, and sailors transported, in the depth of winter, with perfect safety, to the Upper Provinces, where their arrival was very seasonable: and similar, and far more extensive, services, cannot fail to be received, or regretted, in case of future conflict. Such is the importance of preserving this communication, that the present question of Boundary can hardly be considered in any other light, than as involving the question of the expediency, of retaining, or relinquishing, the whole of the British Colonies in North America.

It would really appear to be faintly perceived, or seldom considered, among us, how formidable

a rival we must one day have to contend with in the United States, how rapidly that day is approaching, and how momentous must be the issue. At so great a distance, and comparatively of minor interest, little is here observed of the intriguing, ambitious, and imperious character, of a People and Government, who consider every thing they can claim and reach, as already their own, and every thing they cannot, as an injury to be borne only till they have acquired further strength. In the very terms of a previous concession they can find subject for fresh demands. With reciprocity for ever in their mouths, they can induce us to relax our system of Navigation, and yield them commercial advantages, which they then refuse or delay to return, and seem to think conduct, which in private life would be thought little consistent with good faith, to be the proof of policy on their part, or of weakness upon ours. Yet to whatever subtilty they may descend on some occasions, the boldness of their measures on others, bears no proportion to the imbecility of their present power, but seems to assume all the importance of their future expectations; and as if the vast Countries of the West were now too little for their increase, or were already but the means of acquiring more, we see them grasping, with one

hand, the shores of the Gulph of Mexico, and reaching, with the other, at the Gulph of St. Lawrence; fortifying the mouth of the Columbia, on that side the Globe, intriguing and threatening for a Port in the Mediterranean, upon this; at one time, forbidding any Nation to colonize the coasts of the Pacific, and dictating, at another, to the new Republics of the South, not to touch the Havannah; and now, at last, publicly proclaiming, by the Message of their President, that their former submission to Belligerent rights can only be remembered with the resolution of never enduring it again. (What is this but to say, that if any Nation will go to war with Great Britain, they stand ready to join them?) Their attempt to seize, their unwillingness to relinquish, their very demand of, the Territory in question, is a striking indication of their present aims, and future measures. For why do they thus covet the possession of so angular and insulated a tract, as if they had not already more vacant land than they can people for centuries? Why, but for the injury, and insult, it must inflict upon Great Britain? For surely the injury to the security of the Empire will not be greater, than the insult upon its policy, if they have any argument, by which we can be persuaded, that the

North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, which France once had at the source of the Kennebec, England at the Penobscot, and the Americans themselves, in 83, agreed was on the south of the St. John's, is, in point of fact, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The secret is, that the United States have long found the British American Provinces to lie heavily on their flank and rear, and overhang and command their coast. To throw off so effectual a curb, and still more, by the acquisition of these possessions, to rid themselves of the superiority, or even of the presence, of the British fleets, in those waters; to get at their mines, to monopolize the fish and timber of America, force themselves into the West Indies, and force Great Britain out; these have been their constant objects, since their first struggle for independence, to the present hour. Their efforts have as yet been unavailing; nor have they for the future, by arms at least, any prospect of better success. In a few years, these Colonies will not contain less than two millions of inhabitants, who, in such a country as America, are not to be conquered: and in the mean time, experience has shewn, that with the protection of Great Britain, they may be defended; except indeed their natural Barriers are conceded by negotia-

tion, and their connexion, and communication, with each other, separated, and lost.

The future destinies of the British Colonies in America, as far as from situation and circumstances can be probably conjectured, seem to promise a permanent continuance of their Connexion with the Mother Country. Or even if at any distant period that Connexion may be variously modified, according to the changes of time and events, yet, under the names of dependence, protection, or alliance, it can hardly fail to be almost equally intimate, and mutually advantageous. The commerce, the wants, the situation and fears, and above all, the moral feelings, of the Inhabitants, afford the surest earnest of this expectation. The liberal and parental policy of the Mother Country, particularly of late years, has added the ties of interest to those of affection, and left them nothing to gain, by any change that could be offered. Least of all can any desire, either exist at present, or arise hereafter, to exchange their dependence on Great Britain, for dependence on the American Congress, and submit their commerce to be taxed, and regulated, by the slave-holders of the South, or Planters beyond the Alleganies, who have never seen the Sea. There does not exist among them, either in name or thought, such a thing as a

Party, or even a feeling, in favour of the United States. The avowal of such a sentiment, or the suspicion of entertaining it, would immediately destroy a man's place and character in society. Their warm and frequent expressions of attachment to England, and aversion to American principles, would surprise a stranger, and seem perhaps unnecessary to a Philosopher. We do not allude either to the antipathy of the Canadian, or the fanaticism of the Loyalist, or the longing of the Emigrant for his native home; but to that rational preference of men of sense and education, who having a near and constant opportunity of comparing a mixed Government with a pure Democracy, see little reason to prefer the latter; and if the King's prerogative appear to be sometimes exercised with less justice or judgment, know how to distinguish between the principle and the abuse, and derive abundant consolation in finding the Democracy of their neighbours, more capricious in the favour she bestows, more servile in the homage she exacts, more unreasonable in preferment, more oppressive in displeasure, and absolute in all. Nor should the disputes which sometimes arise with the Colonial Assemblies, be considered as at all involving the question of loyalty or disaffection, but as the natural results

of a Legislature, composed of several orders, or of persons representing their powers, whose Constitution has not yet become settled by precedent and usage, and to which the practice of the Mother Country is not always analogous, or the analogy not always conclusive. If however, in process of time hereafter, as they increase in wealth and population, the consciousness of importance should, as is wont, give rise to feelings of a more national description, Great Britain will probably see it for her interest, to anticipate and direct these, to a separate confederacy among themselves, rather than suffer them to swell the overgrown Empire of their neighbours. Of the present policy of friendly relations with the United States, there cannot exist a doubt, nor a wish for their interruption. But the best pledge for their continuance perhaps, is to hold in our hands, the means of blockading and attacking their whole Coast, which is secured by the Ports of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and an inroad into the heart of their Country, which is offered by Lake Champlain, and Lower Canada, and the annoyance of its rear, by the Upper Provinces and Lakes. These Colonies, though they may have been one of the secret objects, have never been the only causes, of war with the Americans, nor have they been ever even men-

tioned, among its avowed pretexts. If indeed, by the price of their relinquishment, perpetual amity could be purchased with the United States, the present question of Boundary might with more safety be neglected: but if the estimate of relative strength and security is often the real inducement to hostilities, and if commercial jealousies, which are not yet removed, and the old dispute of neutral rights, which may at any time revive, have already furnished the pretext; the question is never likely to arise, whether we shall go to war for the sake of these Colonies, but whether it is better to fight the Americans, with, if we must not say the assistance, yet at least with the opportunities and advantages, which these Provinces afford, or without them.

Of all the North American Colonies, the youngest, but the most fortunate in natural advantages, and perhaps the most rapid in increase, is New Brunswick, whose interests are more immediately concerned in the present question of the Boundary Line. With the Gulph of St. Lawrence on the one hand, and the Bay of Fundy on the other, this Colony possesses a valuable fishery on her own shores, and lies not far from those of Newfoundland and Labrador. Its coasts are indented with numerous bays and harbours, and the whole country is intersected

with large Rivers and Lakes, and numerous smaller Streams, to such a degree, that there is, it is said, no point in the Province eight miles distance from navigable water. In fertility of soil it yields to no part of America; the climate is severe but healthy; the face of the country level, and covered with apparently inexhaustible Forests of large and lofty timber; beneath, are Mines of coal, lime, gypsum, and others, the source of some present, and the promise of much future, advantage. Forty-three years ago this country was one vast wilderness; uninhabited, except by a few families of Acadian French, and the thin and wandering tribes of native Savages. At present, it contains and supports 80,000 inhabitants; its exports exceed the value of £600,000, which are almost all exchanged for British manufactures; and what is of far more importance, give employment to above 200,000 tons of British shipping, and 10,000 seamen. A progress so rapid, which has perhaps never been surpassed in America, says much for the natural advantages of the Country, the enterprise and industry of the inhabitants, and the value of such a possession.

But there are politicians, for whom, neither the welfare of these Colonies has any interest,

nor the loss any alarm. Who, forgetting by what means, or under what circumstances, the present power of their Country has accrued, and preferring to the lessons of successful experience, the experiment of theories, which however specious in principle, may prove inapplicable to our condition, or produce unexpected results, would persuade us, that these Countries are an unprofitable burthen, that our naval superiority might be preserved without Seamen, or Seamen supplied without Commerce, or Commerce secured without Colonies; and have published a defiance to shew what one advantage the North American Provinces have ever rendered to the Parent State. And were they so utterly useless and burthensome, as is asserted, one would still perhaps be rather inclined, in this instance, to approve the example of that old English Gentleman, who wishing to reduce the expenditure of his household, when his Steward presented him separate lists of his dependants, distinguishing the useful from the superfluous, said, upon reflection, he would retain them all, "*Those*, for I have need of them, "and *these*, for they have need of me." For these Colonies, we think, were not planted and maintained, upon merely a mercantile specu-

lation, but a more generous motive, to do good to mankind, to replenish the earth and subdue it, and still more, to fulfil that higher obligation of every Government, to provide and secure the welfare and happiness of all its subjects, and to multiply and increase them. For however early or late may have been the period, and far or near the seat, of their emigration, they are nevertheless our fellow Subjects, members of the same community, and as they have never failed in any duty of allegiance, they have not forfeited any rights to protection. It may be said, indeed, that this cannot apply to the whole population of those Provinces, and it is true that their inhabitants are of two descriptions, and that nearly an equal portion are descendants of France. But so covetous were we once of their Territory, that we forcibly separated them from their own Country, we adopted them into our common family, and having imparted to them the privileges, have ever received from them the loyalty and support of British Subjects. However agreeable to our future interest, it would at least be little consistent with our former policy, to cast them off now; it would reflect no honour upon the constancy of the Nation; more especially as that cannot be done, without betraying

also another description of settlers, whom perhaps it would be almost a shame to abandon. For formerly, when the injustice, or impolicy, of the Imperial Government, had excited a rebellion in the old Colonies of America, there were certain of the Inhabitants, and if inferior in number, they comprised a fair proportion of the wealth, talent, and character, of the whole, who either agreeing with the measures of Administration, of thinking that no oppression, or none yet experienced, could justify an insurrection, continued firm and zealous in loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to their Mother Country, and exposed themselves to proscription, exile, and death, in her defence; and when the King became unable, or the Kingdom unwilling, to protect them in their own Land, with a singular spirit of fidelity, as if they had transferred to politics, that obstinacy and enthusiasm, which in religion had led their Forefathers to exchange their native soil for a distant wilderness, again came out and abandoned the seats of their birth and hopes; and, as no other asylum could be afforded, they removed, with desperate hearts, and ruined fortunes, covered with defeat and insult from their enemies, and regarded too much as a burthen by their friends,

and took refuge in these Colonies of Nova Scotia and Canada. Such were the Refugees, or American Loyalists; an unfortunate race of men! for the cause, in which they had staked all, was unsuccessful; and they exchanged home for exile, the comforts of a cultivated country for the inconveniencies of a wild and inclement forest, literally beginning, not life alone, but the world, anew; and such has since been the change in the opinions of mankind, that the principles, to which they offered so rare an example of devotion, have become irrational, or inglorious, and their descendants must scarcely know, when in England at least, whether to avow their conduct as an honour, or excuse it as delusion. And yet, so far were they from being ashamed of their own fortune, or envying that of their Neighbours, (though they had sometimes seen that preference shewn to the new Republic, which, could loyalty merit commercial advantages, seemed rather due to our own Colonists), that lately when an opportunity was offered for repentance, and the Mother Country was almost sinking in the struggle with Europe, and the United States would gladly have communicated, and proffered, and endeavoured to force on them the privileges of Independence, there appeared no symptoms of diminished affection, but

those who were attacked, armed and fought, and all were alike zealous and ready, had they proved less able to defend, again to abandon, their properties, and a second time seek an asylum in some country, if any could be found, within the protection of Great Britain, or beyond the reach of the Americans, where the latter would cease to covet, and the former to despise, their possessions.

It cannot appear a very gracious, or even a very reasonable thing, to complain of the incumbrance of such a portion of our subjects, and demand of them, so soon, an account of the expenditure and advantages, they have occasioned to the Empire. For had the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection been as diligently performed on our part as on theirs, they had never been a burthen to the revenue. (But to insinuate an opinion of their disaffection, and talk of the probability of their union with the American Republic, must appear, to them at least, a conjecture of little reason, or a suspicion they have not deserved. If such an account however is now to be rendered, it may perhaps be found on a fair consideration of their means and resources, not so utterly deficient, as is asserted, either in political or commercial advantages. For

For they certainly have retained and added to the Empire, 1,200,000 subjects, and 150,000 fighting men, who are posted in that quarter, in which we have most to apprehend, and stand in most need of support. They occupy, and preserve to us, a Country, of such extent and situation, that it is scarcely of more consequence that we should possess it, than that another should not acquire. That an insular, commercial, and manufacturing Nation, with a surplus and fast increasing population, had better remove some of the supernumeraries by emigration, than suffer them to starve at home, or subsist by crime or donatives, is a position which reason must immediately acknowledge, and which necessity seems likely to enforce. That it is better to plant the Emigrants within our Territories, and add to the power and wealth of the Common Empire, than dismiss them to a foreign State, to be numbered with our enemies, appears no less evident. Now we do not possess, nor does the world afford, another country, so near and inviting as this; so inviting, that the voluntary and unassisted emigration thither is already considerable and successful, and so near, that the political connexion must probably continue longer, and the commercial return be more profitable and immediate, than with any other Plantation. But there are other

reasons, which render this Possession highly important, if not indispensably necessary, to the power and commerce of Great Britain. It lies between us and the United States, between the United States and our Fisheries, and either in geographical position, or political results, may be found to lie between the United States and the West Indies, and we think it not absurd to add, the United States and Ireland. It makes the Atlantic a Great Lake, for the domestic commerce of the Empire, and by shutting up the farther shore, enables the King to dictate, who may sail, and who may fish, and almost, who may wash their hands in the sea; a haughty and extravagant pretension, but which was nearly exercised in the late wars, and might be again repeated to-morrow, and as it must first be disputed, and has already been challenged, on that side of the water, so it is upon that side we should be most careful to secure its continuance. Newfoundland is too near, and naturally too dependent upon the other Provinces, to follow a different destiny; and we should find some difference perhaps, between *giving* the Americans leave to take and cure fish in those waters, and *asking it of them.* A difference scarce less essential might be also felt, in the premium on West India Ships, or the value of

West India Estates, in case of war; and in case of peace, how are they, or how are we, to be supplied with wood and timber? From America or the Baltic? For if from either, who are to be the carriers? In fact, the loss of these Provinces could hardly fail to involve, or endanger, the loss of the most valuable portion, of all our Colonies, and Commerce.

But, for there are perhaps, to whom these advantages may appear of less certainty or importance, or who are unable to estimate a value, which may not be measured by a more unerring rule, the use and consequence of these Colonies, to our commerce and navigation, may be no less demonstrated by figures, and the rigid balance of pounds, shillings, and pence. Let it be remembered, however, that "planting Colonies is like the planting of trees, in which a man incurs a certain expense, and waits long for his return," and that these Plantations were principally made by persons, whose fortunes were dissipated, and industry relaxed, by the long continuance, the miserable conduct, and ruinous termination, of a civil war, and who, till within a few years, have never received any assistance from British capital, (except indeed the short and limited credit of the Merchant). And yet, though the average

of exports from Great Britain to those Provinces, upon six years, ending with 1774, previous to the war, amounted only to the scanty sum of £379,411 annually, on the like average for six years after the peace of 1783, they were raised, by the influx of the Loyalists, to £829,088. It is worthy of remark, that during this same period, our exports to the United States had decreased from £2,752,036 to £2,333,643, (on a similar average), a loss of £398,393 annually, which however was supplied, and more, by this increase of £419,677 to the Colonies. In 1799, the exports thither amounted to £1,066,396. In 1809, to £1,733,667. In 1819, to £1,970,257. And for the last year, they have reached the sum of £2,244,245. By a Table annexed, (*in the Appendix*, No. V.), the increase of our Commerce with these Provinces will be more fairly and accurately set forth. It will be seen that our exports thither, during a period of fifty years, ending in 1824, have gained an addition of *four hundred and fifty five per cent.* over and above their amount in 1774. With regard to the imports from them, it is enough to know, that all these exports are finally paid for, and though the balance against them must often have been, and still be, in arrear, yet in no quarter

of the world are the debts so secure, and the losses, of the British Merchant, so rare and inconsiderable.

But it is far less for the advantages of Commerce, than of Navigation, that Colonies are planted, and their improvement valued, and it is chiefly by considering what the possession of these Provinces has added to the mercantile Navy and Seamen, that is, to the real strength and vital interests of the Empire, that their importance can be duly understood. For from the year 1772 to the year of 1789, (upon an average and medium of the vessels cleared and entered for the three preceding years), the tonnage employed between them and Great Britain, is found to have advanced from 11,219 tons to 46,106, being an increase of 34,887 tons annually, and which more than repaired the decrease, that had reduced our annual tonnage to the United States, during the same period, from 86,745 tons to 52,595. In 1818, the amount of British tonnage in this trade, on an average of the five preceding years, had further advanced to 179,317. And for the seven years since, ending with 1825, it has amounted to the average of 340,776 tons annually, and the number of Seamen employed has been more than 15,000 men. And for the year 1825, the vessels

cleared thither amounted to 411,332 tons, about one-fourth of our whole foreign tonnage exclusive of vessels to Ireland. By a Table in the Appendix, (No. VI.), this increase is more particularly stated.

Such has been the use, and so rapid the increase of these possessions, that they need not shun comparison, in commerce or navigation, either with any other portion, or with the collective improvement, of the whole Empire; and not even the United States, loudly vaunted, and justly dreaded, as their wonderful advance has been, have added more to their intercourse with Great Britain or with the World. For, in the year 1774, the exports from Great Britain to the United States bore the proportion of 14 per cent. of those to all other Countries. The exports to the West Indies, which are justly valued as the richest possession of the Crown, were at that time 7⅞ per cent. And the exports to those Colonies were but 2 per cent. In 1824, upon an average of the ten preceding years, the whole amount of our exports was 235 per cent. more than it was in 74. The exports to the United States, on the same average, have increased 245 per cent., and are now a 14½ per cent. of the whole. The exports to the West Indies have increased 300 per cent., and are now a 9⅜ per cent. of the

whole. And the exports to these Colonies, on the same average, have increased 455 per cent., and are now $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. With reference therefore to our whole exports, the comparative increase of the proportion, which these several Countries now receive, above the proportion received in 1772, may be measured respectively by the following figures, viz. 4 for the United States, 11 for the West Indies, and 12 for the Colonies. And with reference to the amount received, the comparative increase in 1824 above 1772, is respectively as, 49 for the United States, 60 for the West Indies, and 91 for the Colonies. In 1772, the proportion of British Shipping employed between Great Britain and the now United States was $7\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. of our whole tonnage cleared annually. The proportion to the West Indies was 9 per cent., and that to these Colonies $1\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. In the year 1824, (on an average of 10 years), the tonnage of the whole Shipping cleared is found to have increased 167 per cent. above the amount cleared in 1772. That employed to the United States has decreased $5\frac{5}{10}$ per cent.; and is now $2\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. of the whole. That to the West Indies has increased 189 per cent., and it now $9\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. of the whole. And the tonnage to the Colonies has increased 2370 per cent.,

and now forms $12\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. of the whole foreign navigation of Great Britain, including the vessels cleared for Ireland. As far therefore as our Navigation is concerned, the advantage now derived to us from the United States, and the North American Colonies respectively, compared with that of the year 1772, may be represented by the following quantities, — 5.5, for the former, and + 11.1, for the latter, and the difference in favour of the Colonies is + 16.6, that is, as nearly one-sixth of our whole foreign tonnage is to 0.

Before comparing the whole commerce and navigation of these Colonies, with those of the United States, to all parts of the world, it should be remembered, that the latter, by their separation from us, had the good fortune to relieve themselves from all the restraints of dependence, and still to retain most of its advantages, nor were the territorial concessions they obtained of us, more important to their increase, or more strangely deserved, than their commercial privileges. For at the same time that they gained a free intercourse with the whole World, their ships continued to enjoy in our harbours the rights and immunities of British bottoms; they continued to trade with our Colonies, to fish in our waters; and even the

protecting duties, to encourage their produce, were a long time preserved. Add to this, that the war, which soon after embroiled all Europe, threw into their hands the carrying trade of almost the whole Continent, which they used justly to compare to a *vicious cow*, which we held by the horns for them to milk. The Colonies, on the other hand, have felt their want of capital, and other the natural difficulties of their situation, increased, both by the restraints upon themselves, and the preference shewn to others. Unknown, or unencouraged, they seem for a long time to have been regarded as a desperate gamester, who has thrown away vast sums without fortune, or without judgment, despises the little that remains. The laws of navigation indeed, as the fundamental rule of the Empire, the source of all its power and prosperity, are never to be mentioned with complaint, because they bear hard upon any particular branch; but this there was unfortunate in the situation of these Colonies, that wherever those laws were rigidly enforced, they suffered much inconvenience and vexation, and wherever they might have expected some advantage, those laws were easily relaxed. For years the Colonies were unable to contend with the admission of the United States into the West India Islands, to

which, and to the Mother Country, their trade was almost entirely restricted: and it was not till 1809, (before which period the importation of their Timber was but limited and unprotected), that the closing of the Baltic, and the hostility of the North, compelled us to turn at length upon our own resources, and cut down our forests in America. Between these obstructions on the one side, and advantages on the other, it is not a little surprising that neither the commerce nor the navigation, of this portion of our dominions, are in comparative improvement, one step behind the rapid advancement of the United States. Their exports to the whole world have increased, between the years 1669 and 1825, from £2,852,441 to £22,395,463, and the whole amount of tonnage employed thereby, from 351,664 to about 1,114,000 tons, an addition of 685 per cent. in the former, and in the latter of 216. While from these Provinces, the exports, during that time, have risen from £225,878 to about £3,150,057, and the navigation employed thereby from 25,410 to about 689,872, an addition respectively of 1280 per cent. and 2610 per cent. How, and from what sources, this estimate is formed, will be seen by a Table, (No. VII.), in the Appendix.

With regard to the civil and military

expenses of these possessions, taken at their largest estimate, at £500,000 per annum, that can hardly, we think, be considered equal to even the commercial advantages received. For if they supply employment to the amount of £3,000,000 annually, (perhaps the *real* value of our exports thither the last year), to the stock and industry of the Merchant and Manufacturer, and £1,000,000 more (the probable amount of freights) to the Shipowner and Seaman, (to say nothing of the revenue of £300,000, the amount in 1825, we believe, of the duties upon timber), it would be difficult to point out another way by which this £500,000 could be made more productive, or shew what item of our whole appropriation yields a better return. For it cannot be said that equal benefits would have resulted from the same, or some other quarter, had we abandoned these Colonies, or shewn them less preference. On the contrary, had they been ceded to the United States, it is far more probable that our intercourse with them would have increased only in the same ratio as it has with that Republic, and instead of our exports thither being 455 per cent. greater than in 1774, they would be only 245, and our tonnage thither, instead of increasing 2370 per cent., would have diminished more than 5, and amount

now to 10,658 instead of 411,332 tons, and the difference have been added to a Foreign Power. And although exports to the same amount might have been made to the Baltic, and Timber thence procured at a cheaper rate, (except indeed the intercourse with those Powers had been restricted by monopoly and combination, as in 1703, or interrupted by war, as in 1809); yet had such a trade been far less profitable. For there are three great advantages in the Colonial above the Baltic Trade. 1st. The former is domestic instead of foreign, and consequently of twice the value of the latter, as the profit by the exchange, on both sides, is all within the Dominions, and by the stock and industry, and added to the common wealth, of our own Empire. 2nd. It is direct instead of circuitous. Not that timber may not be brought from the Baltic in half the time required from America, but to pay for that timber, or the greater part of it, we have first to carry our manufactures beyond the sea, and bring back some foreign or colonial article, and principally indeed gold and silver, and ship that to the Northern Merchant. To these possessions, on the other hand, nearly all our exports are the immediate production of our own industry. The Colonial Trade, therefore, in reality yields a quicker return. 3rd. It

is carried on in British, instead of foreign bottoms. By which we not only save the freight, but most essentially promote an object, which it has ever been the undoubted interest of the Nation to keep principally in view, the support of our Seamen and Navy. And if these advantages should still appear unequal to the objection, so strong to a superficial observer, that Timber is dearer by the present system, it must yet be a consolation to know, that the difference is not only divided among ourselves, but as the prime cost is about the same, is nearly all given as a bounty to the most useful branches of our productive industry, the Shipping and Manufacturing interests, or applied to the necessities of Government, and substituted for so much taxation. But without the competition of our Colonies, are we sure we should obtain Baltic Timber on the present favourable terms? Great Britain has long been, and for ever must be, dependent upon other Countries for Naval Stores and wood. The Coasts of the Baltic possess, and formerly alone afforded, a near and abundant supply of both. Why did we ever derive either by a long voyage to America? The Coasts of the Baltic unfortunately are not our Colonies. Their Merchants combined in 1703 to raise the price of the former, and to

monopolize its transport, and we were driven to give bounties on its importation from our Colonies. In 1807, their Governments combined to exclude us from the latter also, and we began to enquire with some anxiety whether there was any other quarter of the world from which we might be supplied; and what had then been our situation, if on turning to America, we had found its Northern Provinces in the hands of a Power, which was about to pass acts of Embargo, Non-intercourse, and War? That which has already happened, may again be repeated.

If to these commercial benefits, already so considerable, and capable of such future increase, be added the political results derived to our power, from our possession of this Country, and the dangers to be apprehended from its possession by another, it can hardly appear too dearly purchased at the price of its establishments; especially to a Nation, which is too conscious, that her influence in the World is beyond the proportion of her territory or population in Europe, to confine her views to a single Kingdom, or to one Hemisphere; which has not garrisoned for so many years the Rock of Gibraltar, nor maintained her Forts in Africa, nor conquered or planted many other posts or

Islands, for the immediate return of their trade or revenue, nor refused to the subjects of her very Capital the necessary fuel of life, unless brought by sea from a distant port, because the Coals of Newcastle are cheaper than any else where; but which, having established an Empire, on whose dominions the sun never sets, and whose equal he has never seen, has judged no expenses heavy, which were necessary to secure its general prosperity, no prosperity se cure without a superior Navy, and no Navy superior without Colonies and Commerce.

Inconsiderable however as this sum appears, upon such a comparison, it may yet be well to examine, whether all of it could probably be saved to the revenue by the proposed abandonment. The expenses of the Civil Government of these Provinces, as much as are borne by the Mother Country, amount only to about £45,000. All the rest is incurred by the Military establishments, which are not required to secure the obedience of the Inhabitants, for that is most voluntary and devoted, but for the safety also of other possessions, the fear of neighbouring rivals, and the general interests of the Empire. Were these withdrawn, must not the garrisons in other places be augmented, in Bermuda, and the West Indies? Or would our fears diminish with the

increase of our enemies, or our forces be lessened with the increase of our fears, or any saving gained in the health or cost of our forces by this change of station? Two hundred men would possibly cease to be a sufficient protection for Newfoundland; nor would perhaps the uneasiness felt for Ireland be any thing allayed, for the intimidating supposition, lately suggested by a Catholic Barrister, of an American Fleet in the Irish Channel, may not prove eventually to have been so very remote, as the Orator, it is hoped, himself imagined. Were the obstacles on that side of the water removed, the Americans know the way over to this, and they would soon learn how to throw 100,000 musquets into Ireland, which they have already learned how to make; and were it the expedition of mad men, and fools, they could bring 10,000 United Irishmen with them, who are both one and the other. It must be better, one would think, that these men and arms should be sent, without return, to Canada, and the United States exhaust their means in imbecile attempts to invade a country, which they never can conquer, as in the last war, or, as it will, or should be, in the next, in protecting their long and defenceless coasts, of the Atlantic in front, and the Lakes in their rear, (neither of which could be endangered without

our occupation of this Territory,) rather than to remove every domestic annoyance, and leave their undivided attention and resources to be applied to, their maritime force, and the attack of more valuable, or more valued, possessions.

If indeed the power and consequence of a Nation does not depend upon the extent of its dominions and number of inhabitants, but the less we possess and expend abroad, the richer and securer we are at home; if the cheapest market be an object of such paramount importance, in political œconomy, as to exclude the distinctions of subject and alien, friend and enemy, security and dependence, and trade with foreigners be as permanent or profitable as domestic commerce within ourselves; we might by the same reasons give up the beautiful and fertile Islands of the West Indies, to the Abolitionists, if Heaven so please, for an experiment upon negro industry and intellect, (since there are, who refuse to be satisfied with the experiment that has been making since the flood upon the whole Continent of Africa,) we might sever Ireland from Great Britain, or Scotland from England, or resolve England again into an Heptarchy, and would mankind remain at peace, and obey the dictates of right reason, all parts perhaps would be benefited, and we might safely

contract our Empire, or even dissolve it: but as force has unhappily been found the best or only means of securing, either the ends of justice, or the advantages of amity and commerce, the same reason that induced men to form societies, must suggest and compel their enlargement, and the greater the proportion of the earth included under one good government, the stronger, the richer, and happier, must that nation be. The increase of production in the Mother Country has of late so far surpassed the increase of consumption, that the grand object of her œconomy is now, to multiply her customers, and open new markets. No class of consumers, it is allowed, is so safe, so constant, and profitable, as we are to ourselves; and if there are causes at home which retard or limit their multiplication, in the Colonies nothing, but our own negligence, can oppose their rapid and almost infinite increase. Had a tithe, had an hundredth part, of the capital lately sunk, in abortive schemes, imaginary mines, and irrecoverable loans, been diverted to the planting and encouraging these possessions, to open Canals for example, between the Bay of Fundy and the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic at Halifax, Lake Erie and Ontario, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, the St. Lawrence and Lake

Champlain, the benefit would have been great and permanent to the Empire, and the profit satisfactory to the adventurers. So inviting are these undertakings, that the capitalists in the United States have long been anxious, and have offered, to perform them, but from a laudable feeling of pride and jealousy, the Colonists have preferred waiting, till they could get assistance from the Mother Country, or till, and the time is not distant, they could effect it of themselves. Indeed some of these enterprises are already in operation, and the rest about to be begun.

To pursue further the resources and prospects of the British Empire in America, would be long and inapplicable to the present purpose. It is already seen that the Colonies, which remain to us, are now of more value to our commerce and navigation, than were all the Provinces of the United States together in 1774, though these then contained twice the number of inhabitants, and though they have met no obstacle to their improvement, except the war of their own choosing, our colonists have gained rapidly upon them in comparative increase.

It would perhaps be difficult to mention, or almost to imagine, a country, the result of whose industry and commerce could afford a more unmingled satisfaction, at once to the philoso-

pher, the statesman, and œconomist. Trees, which bear no fruit, which contribute nothing to our support, which even cumber the ground, are cut down, to make room for population and subsistence; and are sent and exchanged, in this great mart of the comforts and conveniences of life, for commodities which there could be neither made nor spared; the tillage and pasture, which succeed, supply exports of higher value, and more general demand; the barrenness of rivers and the sea is made to yield the luxuries of either hemisphere; and the very stones are turned to bread. To all concerned, the advantages seem surprisingly great, and mutual. On the one hand, articles, which have received the last labour of human art, are purchased by things useless or even burthensome; on the other, the superfluities of production are given for the necessary materials of future industry; the bulk of which is the most disproportioned to value, and value the least derived from manufacture; while the nature of the voyage, and the size and quantity of ships for the transport, are such, that if they bring but a small addition to our wealth, they contribute largely to the security of all we have. "In the meantime the face of a vast country is changed from a wild and silent forest, to the fair improvements of culture and habitation;

villages and towns spring up; the poor emigrant is received with welcome and a ready engagement; and with the increase of capital and numbers, new resources are discovered, or the old more available. Add to this, that they thus supply employment of £4,000,000 annually to the productive industry, and something besides to the revenue, of Great Britain; and add also the present advantages of the territory they occupy, and its future prospects, in commercial and political importance, and perhaps the inhabitants of no country have less reason to be reproached with what they have done for themselves and the empire, for posterity and mankind. All of which, it may be affirmed, had been lost to us, and worse, added to our rivals, had the Colonists been a little less faithful to the Mother Country, or the Mother Country a little more indifferent to the Colonists.

From these facts and arguments, the conclusion to be drawn is, *not*, we trust, *(in the words of the Edinburgh Review, No. 86.)* "That it "had been better for Great Britain had Canada, "Nova Scotia, &c. continued to this hour in the "possession of their aboriginal savages." An assertion which discovers perhaps no great benevolence of feeling, if accuracy of judgment or calculation. On the contrary, something, it is

hoped, may be collected to justify, or excuse, the position hazarded in our commencement, that *Great Britain still possesses the most valuable portion of North America, and does not know it.* Or, whatever it may be, that value at least must be greatly impaired by the compromise of the present question of Boundary, and even the possession eventually lost. But from what acquaintance with the country, what circumstance in its situation and history, what mode of reasoning from the past, or conjecturing for the future, it is asserted, that these colonies *must* merge in the American Republic, and *"That there is not a man of sense in the empire, who does not look forward to the dissolution, at no distant period, of their connexion with England,"*—has not been disclosed, and, notwithstanding the penalty prefixed, we confess ourselves unable to divine. According to the view here taken, the anticipation must appear improbable, the reflection unmerited. So improbable, and so unmerited, that nothing, we think, but the adoption of the sentiments and measures of such œconomists, by government, or the public, could perhaps bring it about. Assertions like these are there read with great pain and uneasiness, and can produce no good effect, among a class of our fellow-subjects, whom, if it be not our interest to conciliate, it

were wantonness to estrange, and ungenerous to insult. And if such were ever to become the words and feelings, not indeed of the Government, nor let us a moment suppose that disposition to exist with them, but of the Public, or any considerable Party, and the opinion of our Colonists thence could reach us in reply, it would be expressed, we may believe, in some such sentiments as these.

'We are not conscious of any thing in the 'character, either of this Country, to make that 'event so indifferent, or of its Inhabitants, to 'make it probable. To commend one or the 'other to your notice might appear an over esti-'mate of ourselves. If indeed you can see no-'thing in the present or future advantages of 'these Colonies, that may be useful to your 'power or commerce; if you would add, to the 'desertion of our Red Brethren, another ex-'ample of the folly, and danger, of supporting 'the cause, or trusting to the protection of Great 'Britain, you are certainly at liberty to abandon 'the Country. But, for if beggars, we are not 'convicts, or *convict* only of Treason, which 'was Loyalty to you, and *beggared* by its con-'sequences, you are not at liberty to sell or 'cede us to the United States, nor was it upon 'such hopes or conditions that you led, and we

'followed you, hither. We will endeavour
'rather to confederate, and set up for ourselves,
'and perhaps by unanimity and resolution, may
'obtain from fortune, or the justice of our
'neighbours, what we sought in vain under your
'protection. Only leave us at once, before your
'indifference has betrayed our natural defences,
'or our children shall have imbibed those prin-
'ciples, which brought our fathers into exile.
'Yet think us not so insensible to the name and
'advantages of British Subjects, as to desire so
'desperate an alternative. Let us rather advise
'and intreat you, for our own sakes, and for
'yours, not to harbour such an intention, nor
'use such language. You are so rich, so great,
'and so distant, that perhaps you estimate the
'lesser members of the Empire below their real
'worth. Formerly the feet and hands accused
'the body, but in these days the body would
'appear to be complaining of the feet and hands.
'Yet the blood, or treasure, supplied to them,
'flows back to you by other channels, invigo-
'rating all by circulation: there is no part per-
'haps that adds not something to the strength
'and welfare of the whole: and if we seem to
'contribute little in our present infancy, more
'may be expected of us hereafter. You little
'know what the United States are doing on this

'side of *the Great Lake*, or what might be done
'here by yourselves. Believe us, there is no-
'thing in the one to despise, nor in the other to
'neglect. It is in vain that you multiply at
'home, production beyond consumption, or po-
'pulation beyond subsistence: either requisite
'may be supplied by us. Here you have land
'that wants labourers; there labourers that
'want land. Unless you can add to the extent
'of your dominions there, or have some other
'machine for making corn, transplant some of
'your surplus inhabitants, and with them some
'of your surplus capital, to this vast and fertile
'Country, and we together will weave such a
'band around the North States of America, as
'shall at least prevent their rising up, the mo-
'ment you begin a war in Europe, to demand
'the commerce of your enemies, or attack your
'own. By this time you ought to be too well
'acquainted with the character of that People,
'to expect from them, either neutrality in war,
'or reciprocity in peace. Do not flatter your-
'selves with the idle hope, that the new Re-
'publics of South America, so feeble, so distant,
'and divided, are to balance the power of the
'United States in this Hemisphere; or that the
'population of Russia, unequal to the forests
'of Asia and Europe, is to overflow, and meet

them from the Pacific; nor yet that any dis-
union among themselves can ever make the
people less enterprising, or their government
more inefficient. The competition and contest
that is to be tried with them, there is no Power
on earth that will do for you but yourselves, no
place for the struggle but this. Nor will this
long remain to you, if the possession is thus
to be stolen of your defensible frontiers, and
you will continue to negotiate with the Ame-
ricans, as though their friendship were certain,
or their enmity harmless. For beware lest
you think it more difficult to stop the course of
the St. John's, or turn the St. Lawrence from
the Ocean, than to prevent the American
People from driving us before them into the
Sea, and shutting you out from the land, when
they once establish themselves on those Rivers,
in that Tract and Position they now claim, and
attempt. If you can find in our connexion,
the inducement of any interest, or the obliga-
tion of any duty, we conjure you not to neglect
this question. Do not suffer a Boundary to
be recorded in the Map, whose very figure
will become a testimony of reproach to you
with posterity. Do not suffer it to be said,
that the Americans here treat the King's
Colonists and Authorities, as they dare not

'treat their own *Squatters*. For, finally, though 'it should not be necessary to repeat what you 'yourselves must already as well know, yet we 'are afraid, in the concerns of so great an Em-'pire, lest ours may be forgotten, let us once 'more warn you, that we, who acknowledge the 'same allegiance, the same interests with your-'selves, are beset by a People, the most for-'midable of your rivals, the most implacable of 'your enemies, and are in danger of being be-'trayed by you, as though you were not at the 'same time selling yourselves. The territorial 'and commercial concessions already made to 'the United States, at our expense, have been 'such, that these are now perhaps the last that 'remain for them to demand. Do not suffer 'them to persuade you, and do not persuade 'yourselves, that it is merely a Tract of 10,000 'square miles, of vacant forest, and 1500 im-'portunate Colonists only, that are at stake; it 'is the connexion of your Provinces with each 'other, of the Canadas with the Sea, of the 'Canadas with Great Britain, that you are 'asked to concede; you are negotiating for your 'last possessions in America, for the superiority, 'for the very presence, of your Navy on its 'Coasts; in short, though you will not believe 'it, for the whole Colonies, and Commerce, and

'Fisheries, of the Western World. Or if we 'are mistaken in these consequences, there is 'one at least in which we cannot be deceived, 'and which, though perhaps the least impor- 'tant to you, may be by no means the least 'painful to us; *It is from your conduct in the 'present question that we are to learn in 'future how to accommodate our own.*'

APPENDIX.

(No. I.)

EXTRACT *from the Second Volume of the Secret Proceeding of Congress, published at Boston, a few years ago, by a Resolution of Congress, and under the direction of the President of the United States. Page* 225.

" August 17th, 1779.

" CONGRESS proceeded to the consideration of the " Instructions of the Ministers to be appointed for ne- " gotiating a Peace with Great Britain." *(After other matter the Instructions state)*—" The Boundaries of " these States are as follow"—*(Here the same Line is described, as in the Definitive Treaty of* 1783, *as far as—' to the mouth of St. Mary's River in the Atlantic Ocean'—when the Instructions proceed)*—" and East " by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the St. " John's River from its source to its mouth in the Bay " of Fundy," *(followed by this expression)* " if the " same can be obtained from Great Britain."

On the 16*th of August* 1782, *another Committee of Congress made a Report for the use of the American Commissioners, engaged in negotiating the Treaty of*

Peace, in which the following passage, at page 180, *Vol. II. occurs*—" It is to be observed, that when the " Boundaries of the United States were declared to be " Ultimatum, it was not thought advisable to continue " the War merely to obtain Territory as far as St. " John's River."

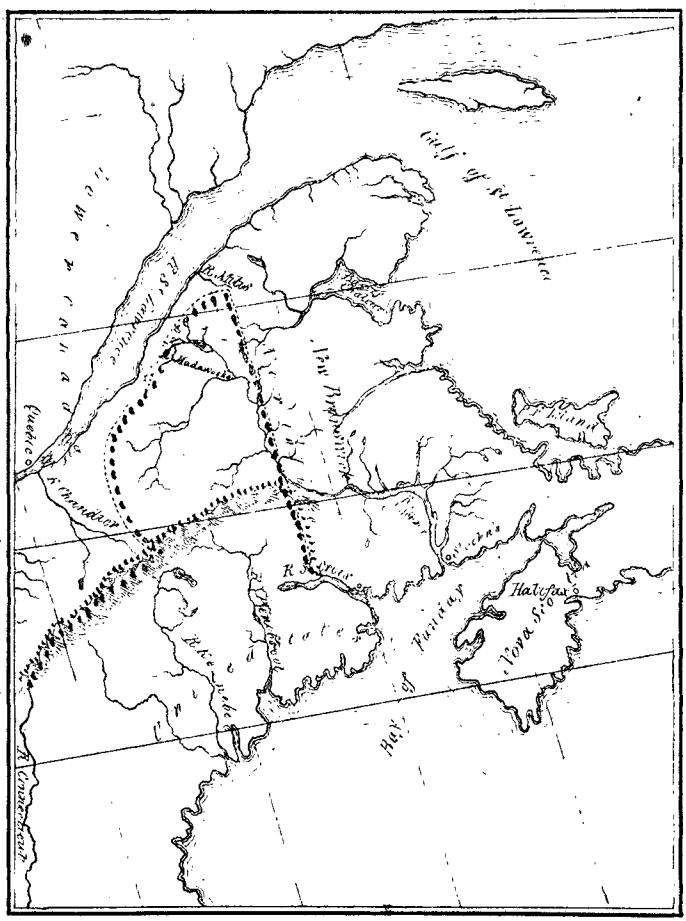
The Commissioners appointed, under the Treaty of 1794, *to examine and decide what River was truly intended under the name of the River St. Croix, considered it necessary to obtain of Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams, two of the Plenipotentiaries on the part of the United States in* 1783, *all the information in their power. Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, was accordingly examined, under oath, before the Commissioners, and the second interrogation put, was*

" What Rivers were claimed to, or talked of, by the Commissioners," *(viz. who negotiated the Treaty of* 1783,) " on either side, as a proposed Boundary, and " for what reason?

" *Answer.* The British Commissioners first claimed " to Piscatawa, then to Kennebec, then to Penobscot, " and at length to St. Croix, as marked on Mitchell's " Map. One of the American Ministers at first pro- " posed the River St. John's, as marked on Mitchell's " Map; but his colleagues showing, that as the St. " Croix was the River mentioned in the Charter of " Massachusett's Bay, they could not justify insisting " on the St. John's as the ultimatum, he agreed with " them to adhere to the Charter of Massachusett's " Bay."

(Taken from the New York Albion.)

N.° 2.



MAP

of the Boundary Line.

Red line. Boundary claimed by Great Britain.
Blue line Boundary claimed by the United States.
Red & Blue d.° as agreed upon by both.

(No. III.)

The joint Address of the Council and House of Assembly of New Brunswick respecting the Boundary between that Province and the United States.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty,

"The joint Address of your Majesty's Council and House of Assembly, of the Province of New Brunswick, in General Assembly,

"Most humbly sheweth,

"That the Council and House of Assembly view with great surprise and concern the recent attempts made by the Governments of Massachusetts and Maine to disturb the possession of your Majesty, and the jurisdiction of this Province, in a Tract of Country on the Saint John and Madawaska Rivers.

"They beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty that the Inhabitants of this Tract of Country, so far as it is settled, are, with the exception of a few Persons, who have lately become Settlers, French Acadians, and their descendants, the first of whom removed thither from the lower parts of the Country, soon after the Treaty of 1783, and the immediately subsequent erection of this Province, under the full faith that they were planting themselves upon British Territory. That grants of their lands were at the beginning of the settlement made to the Settlers under the Great Seal of this Province. That Militia Companies were organized in this settlement by General Carleton, the first Governor of this Province, at so early a period as the year 1786. That Magistrates and Parish Officers have been from time to time appointed there under the laws and Institutions of this Province, and the process of your Majesty's Courts in this Province has uniformly run thither. That the Inhabitants vote at elections for the County of York in this Province, and that all the powers of sovereignty and jurisdiction have in fact been

exercised by the constituted authorities of this Province, throughout the whole of this Tract of Country bordering on the Saint John and Madawaska Rivers, in the same manner as in any other part of the Province without question or disturbance quite up to the period of the Treaty of Ghent in the year 1814, and from thence, until the recent attempts at interference, which it is the present object of the Council and House of Assembly, to represent to your Majesty.

"It is well known that this Tract of Country is included in a claim to a much larger extent made by the Government of the United States, before the Commission that was established under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, for settling the Boundary in this quarter, and was also claimed on the part of your Majesty, before the same Commission, as belonging to your Majesty. It would be out of place on the present occasion to enter upon the grounds upon which the claim on the part of your Majesty may be supported, but as in some official documents which have emanated from the Governments of Maine and Massachusetts, it seems to be held out that your Majesty is claiming a part of the Territory of those States, to the cession of which their consent must be obtained, it is proper to remark that the question of right between the two Governments must be determined by the Provisions of the Treaty of 1783, which prescribes the line of demarcation, and that if what your Majesty claims as your just and undoubted right according to the true construction of that Treaty be finally confirmed, the Tract of Country now in question does not and never did *de jure* form a part of Massachusetts or of Maine, as *de facto* it is not and never has been in the possession or under the jurisdiction of either of those States.

"The Council and House of Assembly conceive that upon every principle of Justice, and from a due regard to the friendly understanding happily subsisting between the two Countries, the possession and actual exercise of jurisdiction, which existed at the time of making the Treaty of Ghent, the instrument which provided for a decision of any conflicting claims between the two nations in this quarter, should have remained sacred and inviolate until that decision may take place.

The Government of this Province has done no more than to exercise the ordinary powers of Sovereignty and jurisdiction, to which it succeeded on the first erection of the Province in the year 1784, and to which it has ever since been accustomed, and it was in this ordinary exercise of those powers that the Licences to cut Pine Timber, which have been so much complained of by the Governments of Maine and Massachusetts, were issued—upon these complaints being conveyed to your Majesty by the General Government of the United States, your Majesty's Government, with that spirit of conciliation towards the United States which it has uniformly exhibited, directed the Government of this Province to abstain from granting Licences to cut Timber on the Territory claimed by that power. This disposition to remove grounds of complaint, and prevent causes of collision, having been thus evinced by your Majesty, the Council and House of Assembly feel themselves imperatively called upon to represent to your Majesty the doings of Public Agents of the Governments of the United States, and of the States of Maine and Massachusetts of late years within this Territory, thus being in the actual possession and under the jurisdiction and Laws of this Province.

"In the year 1820, the Marshal of the District of Maine, professing to Act under a Law of the United States, commissioned an assistant to go into the above mentioned French Settlement, commonly known by the name of the Madawaska Settlement, and there take an enumeration of the Inhabitants, as being within the said District. This enumeration was accordingly made, and the Inhabitants of this Settlement included in the public returns, as Citizens of the United States, and part of the Inhabitants of Maine.

"In the year 1821, a Senator of the State of Maine, professing to act as an Agent of the Government of that State, came into this Province, and seized and marked a quantity of Pine Timber, lying in the River St. John, within our acknowledged Boundaries, far below the Line claimed by the United States, as having been cut on the River Restook, in the Territory of the United States; (the place where this Timber was alleged to have been cut, being part of the Territory in dispute

between the two Governments,) and induced the persons who had this Timber in possession, to give obligations for paying certain sums of money therefore to the Government of Maine.

"In the last year, 1825, the Governments of the States of Massachusetts and Maine, appear deliberately to have adopted measures to subvert your Majesty's actual possession and jurisdiction, in all that part of the Territory claimed by the United States, which lies on the St. John and Madawaska Rivers. By Resolves of the Legislatures of those States, which have been published to the world, Land Agents were authorized to convey to the Settlers in this Territory by good and sufficient Deeds, one hundred Acres each, of the Land by them possessed, to include their improvements on their respective Lots, for a certain sum to be paid for the use of the said States. These Settlers, let it be remembered, are your Majesty's Subjects, the Lands thus by them possessed, are held by Grants from the Crown, and these Lands and the Inhabitants upon them, whose number now exceeds fifteen hundred souls, have been under your Majesty's protection and Sovereignty, and been governed in quiet by the Laws of this Province for the last forty years. The Land Agents of the States above mentioned, appear by their own shewing, in a Report which has also been published to the world, to have zealously executed their Commission. Early in the month of October last, they proceeded to the Settlement in question, commenced surveying the Settlers' Lots, to several of whom they made deeds in conformity to the above mentioned Resolves of the Legislatures of the two States, and finding there was not then time to complete their Surveys, deemed it sufficient to make a few Deeds, and then post up Notices of the disposition of the State towards the Settlers, at the Catholic Church, and at the Grist Mills in the before mentioned Settlement, of your Majesty's Subjects at Madawaska, now under the jurisdiction and Laws of this Province. They acknowledge having been informed, that the Permits from the Government of this Province to cut Pine Timber, for the approaching winter, had been withdrawn, and reciprocate this Act of moderation and forbearance on the part of your Ma-

jesty's Government, by appointing an Agent at Madawaska, and another at the Restook, with power to grant permits to cut Pine Timber, on the same disputed Territory, which they affect to consider their own soil, and upon which your Majesty has desisted from exercising this accustomed right of Sovereignty while the question of Boundary remains undecided, at the express instance of the Government of the United States. They make what they call domiciliary visits to many of the Settlers, to whom they explain the objects of their visit to the Country, whom they state to have expressed great delight at the prospect of being received into the family of Maine, to have little confidence in the value of their Grants, and to have made application to the Legislatures of those States for obtaining Deeds of all the Lands they have in possession; these Agents being authorized to convey only one hundred acres to each Settler,—not contented with these measures in the disputed Territory, they proceed down the River St. John, into the acknowledged and unquestioned Territory of your Majesty, and there sound the dispositions of your Majesty's Subjects, to become Citizens of the United States, upon a scheme of exchange of Territory which they profess to set forth, and they report to the Governments under which they Act, that the greater part of these Inhabitants would be well pleased with the exchange. On their return to their own Country, they recommend to the Governor of the State of Maine, and state it to have been approved of by him, that two Justices of the Peace be commissioned, that a deputy Sheriff or Constable be appointed, that one or more Military districts be formed at Madawaska, and at a suitable time be so organized that they may have a Representative in the Legislature of Maine, that authority be granted to sell to the Madawaska Settlers, the Land they have in possession more than one hundred Acres, for a reasonable consideration, and that a bushed winter road be cut from the head waters of the Penobscot, in a direction near the head of the Restook, and continued to Madawaska or Fish River, the Tract of Country through which this proposed road is to pass, being also a part of the disputed Territory before referred to.

"All this appears by a document published in the American Newspapers, purporting to be the official 'Report of the Agent of the Land Office' of Massachusetts, and dated, 'Land Office, Boston, November 10th, 1825.'

"It might have been added, because it is a well known fact, which has been verified on oath, that these Agents also endeavoured to persuade the Inhabitants of Madawaska not to attend a Militia training then about to be held under the Laws of this Province, and offered to some of them, if they would not attend, to pay any fines that might be recovered against them for their delinquency. This attempt however was unavailing, for the General Training was held on the fourth of October last, in the Settlement of Madawaska, and upwards of three hundred men under forty-five years of age were present at it: And the Council and Assembly are well persuaded, that all the other attempts of these Land Agents to seduce your Majesty's Subjects in this quarter, from their allegiance, and to shake their faith in their titles to their Lands, and in your Majesty's support and protection, were equally ineffectual.

"Nevertheless the Council and House of Assembly cannot view these proceedings of the Governments of the States of Massachusetts and Maine, and of their authorized Agents, without great regret and alarm. They cannot reconcile them to those principles of moderation and equity, which have induced the two nations of late years so often to refer their differences, as well with regard to disputed points of Boundary, as to other matters of high import, to tribunals of their own selection for amicable adjustment, nor to that spirit of courtesy and conciliation which ought always to subsist between friendly powers.

"Had any Peace Officers of this Province detected these Land Agents in the course of the proceedings above detailed, it would have been their unquestionable duty to have secured their persons, and to have brought them before the proper municipal Tribunal in this Province, for an infraction of your Majesty's Sovereignty in places under its actual exercise. For although your Majesty has thought proper to abstain from granting Licences to your Subjects to cut Timber on the wilder-

ness Lands claimed by the United States, the Council and House of Assembly have not understood that your Majesty has abandoned or means to abandon, under present circumstances, any rights of practical Sovereignty which your Majesty has been accustomed to exercise in any parts of the disputed Territory, which have been, and now are, in fact, occupied and held as British Settlements, and under your Majesty's jurisdiction. In consequence of a remonstrance made by the Lieutenant Governor of this Province to your Majesty's Minister at Washington, and by him conveyed to the Government of the United States, the Legislature of Massachusetts appears to have suspended the execution of the Resolves above mentioned, until their Session in the month of June next. But should these Resolves, or the additional measures recommended by the Land Agents of the two States, be attempted to be put in force while the question of Boundary remains unsettled, it may be confidently asserted that the Government of this Province will not tamely surrender the Sovereignty which has been uniformly exercised in the Territory in question, and the most unpleasant collisions may be expected to ensue.

"While the Council and House of Assembly deeply feel the importance of a speedy settlement of this disputed Boundary, they can by no means accede to the proposition for an adjustment made by the Land Agents of the States of Massachusetts and Maine, in the report above alluded to in what they term an exchange of Territory, by leaving to your Majesty all the Lands lying North Eastward of the Rivers Saint John and Madawaska, and taking for the United States a portion of Territory, on the west side of the River Saint John as far down as Eel River, far below the line now claimed by the United States. This would be to vary both the Line and the principle of Boundary in this quarter as designated in the Treaty of 1783. There is moreover engrafted on this proposition a right to the free Navigation and use of the River St. John to its mouth; and such a compromise it is stated would be for the mutual advantage of the two Nations.

"The Council and House of Assembly humbly conceive that the inconveniences and disadvantages to your

Majesty's Interests of a River Boundary have been already so much experienced in other parts of your Majesty's North American Dominions, as to render it altogether inexpedient to adopt such a Boundary in this quarter, especially if the consequence is to be that a Foreign nation is to have a free right of navigation of a Great River lying altogether within your Majesty's Territories for a distance of near two hundred miles down to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, and to a coast navigation from thence along your Majesty's Territories for a distance of sixty miles further until it meets its own sea board. The facilities for illicit trade, the exposure of frontier in a Military view, and the controul of the communications between your Majesty's Provinces, which such an arrangement would afford to a Foreign Power, are in addition to the relinquishment of a large portion of very valuable Territory, most cogent reasons against adopting it. The Council and House of Assembly on the contrary entertain the most sanguine hope, that your Majesty's Government will maintain the true principle on which the designation of Boundary in this quarter in the Treaty of 1783 was founded, namely, to leave within the Territories of the respective powers, the whole course of those Great Rivers, quite up to their sources, which have their mouths within the same Territories. This is a principle in full accordance with that spirit of reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience, which was the declared object of the provisional articles of Peace afterwards framed into the Treaty of 1783, which will make the line of Boundary to be a substantial separation between the two distinct nations, will prevent that constant contact between their respective subjects that inevitably leads to dissension and difficulty, and will tend more than any one circumstance that can be named to preserve the integrity of your Majesty's remaining North American Colonies.

"The Council and House of Assembly beg leave with great humility to lay this representation at the foot of the Throne. They cherish with undiminished confidence the persuasion that your Majesty will continue to bestow that gracious attention and regard to the rights and interests of your North American Dominions for which they have hitherto had so much reason to be grateful."

(No. IV.)

The Report of one of the American Agents to his Government.

'Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
Land Office, Boston, Nov. 10, 1825.

May it please your Excellency.

THE Legislature of this Commonwealth passed several resolves, dated 16th Eebruary, and 11th June last, in concurrence with resolves of the Legislature of the State of Maine, by which it was made my duty, in conjunction with the Land Agent of the State of Maine, "forthwith to take effectual measures to ascertain the extent of the depredations committed on the lands belonging to this Commonwealth and the State of Maine, by whom the same have been committed, and under what authority, if any, such depredations have been made, and all other facts necessary to bring the offenders to justice, also to make and execute good and sufficient deeds, conveying to the Settlers on the undivided public lands on the St. John and Madawaska Rivers in actual possession as aforesaid, their heirs and assigns, 100 acres each, of the land by them possessed to include their improvements on their respective lots, they paying to the said Agents for the use of this Commonwealth, five dollars each, and the expense of surveying the same. And also to sell the timber on such of the undivided public Lands, as lie contiguous to, and near to the waters of the river St. John, in all cases where such sale will, in the opinion of the Land Agent, promote the interest of this Commonwealth."

In obedience to, and in pursuance of said resolves, and in consequence of the claim made by the Province of New Brunswick to a large portion of the State of Maine, and granting permits to sundry persons to cut timber, and have, and still are exercising jurisdictional powers over the territory and inhabitants residing north of Marshill, it was thought expedient to make inquiries relative

to the facts, and that some possessory acts on the part of the two States should be resorted to without delay. The agent aforesaid took measures in the first place to ascertain whether any timber had been cut encroaching upon the territory of Maine, and if so, by whom, and under what authority. We ascertained from the lumberers themselves that a large amount of timber had been taken over our line, by permits issued from the Surveyor General's Office of the Province of New Brunswick, the names of the persons having said Permits, and the amount they have cut. We also learned that Permits were issued for the approaching winter. Under these circumstances, and to carry into effect the other resolves, it was necessary that we should make a journey to that section of the country. Accordingly, by agreement, I accompanied General Irish, the Land Agent for the State of Maine, the beginning of September to Bangor, where we engaged two men to take a batteau up Penobscot, Matawainkeag, and Barkenhegan Rivers, and over Schoodic Lake to Woodstock, on St. John River, and there remain our arrival. We proceeded to Fredericton by the way of Eastport and St. John City. When at Fredericton, we called at the Surveyor General's Office, and stated to him we wished to obtain some documents from his office, relative to permits granted for cutting timber upon the Arcostook and Madawaski rivers, to which he replied that he could not furnish such documents without first consulting the Governor, who was then absent on a journey, and would not return for several days. We observed to him, that perhaps when we explained to him more particularly what we wanted, he would not think it necessary to advise with the Governor, and if he would name an hour that day or the next, we would attend; he however declined acting until he had seen the Governor. We made a written communication, stating the substance of our request, and that we were going up the river and would call at his office for an answer on our return. We then proceeded up river to Woodstock, where we found our boatmen, and after all things were in readiness, we continued up river, and about twenty miles below Madawaska river we met a Mr. Baker in a lumber boat coming down. Mr. Baker formerly lived in Bingham, but now resides at his Mills

at Marymiticook, fourteen miles above Madawaska river; he finding out our business, left his boat and followed us up, and overtook us a little above Madawaska river, and continued with us up to his place at Marymiticook. He is an intelligent man, we received from him much valuable information as to the courses, distances and forms of the lakes, rivers, &c.—also relative to permits granted by the Province of New Brunswick for cutting timber, and with the names, dispositions and customs of the Madawaska settlers. He informed us there were eight or ten families, most of whom came from the States, now residing at Fish river, about twenty miles above his residence, and that Wilmot and Peters, merchants of Fredericton, were now building mills at the mouth of said river. We did not conceive it to be necessary for us to go up further—we commenced surveying the settlers' lots of one hundred acres each, to several of whom we have made deeds in conformity to said resolves, but to survey all the lots in the possession of the settlers, would have employed our time till mid winter; we thought therefore, it would be quite sufficient to make a few deeds, and then post up public notices of the disposition of the State towards the settlers, which we did at the Catholic Church and at the Grist Mills; these notices will probably be seen by most of the settlers.

The water in the several rivers and streams being low, much more so than was ever known before by the oldest inhabitants, and diminishing daily, we concluded it would not be possible for us to return by the way of Matewamkeag River as we had intended, we therefore gave our boatmen ten days supplies of provisions, with instructions to go up to Fish River, and from thence cross over to Bangor by the head waters of the Penobscot River, and make a critical examination of the country, noting the streams, lakes and rivers, and generally all the information in relation to that section, that came to their knowledge.

We then took Mr. Baker into our Batteau, and proceeded down to St. John river, making domiciliary visits to many of the settlers, with whom we conversed and explained the objects of our visit; they all expressed great satisfaction and delight at the prospect of being received into the family of Maine, and were ready to take deeds

of their lots, but most of them have in possession from four to six hundred acres, and are desirous of purchasing at a fair rate sufficient to cover their possessions; they have accordingly made applications to be submitted to the Legislature for that purpose. The Eastern boundary line crosses the St. John river about two miles above the grand falls—from the line to the Madawaska river is about thirty miles, the settlers are situated from eighty to one hundred rods apart, on each side of the river, nearly the whole distance, we counted the houses, in all two hundred and twenty-two, averaging eight persons in each, (which is considered a low average) will make the whole number one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six—they are a very industrious, civil and hospitable people, and well deserving the fostering care of government, many of whom have grants of their lands from the Province of New Brunswick, but they have little confidence in the value of the grants.—Between the grand falls and Eel river we undertook to number the houses on the west bank in order to have some means of estimating the amount of population, but the smoke came upon us from the burning woods so astonishingly dense and suffocating, that we were frustrated in this design; we however obtained some information from inquiry to satisfy us that there are over two hundred and fifty families. These settlers are composed of half-pay officers, refugees and their descendants, also many Irish and some Scotch. We conversed with many of them to learn their dispositions for or against an exchange of territory: we found, generally, the descendants of Yankees would be pleased with it, but the half-pay officers and those now in the employ of government, would be very much averse—the first are much the most numerous.

The land on the west side of St. John River, generally speaking, is of an excellent quality, greatly superior to the east side. There are large tracts of rich interval; back of the intervals the land rises up a beautiful glacis, resembling art more than nature; after ascending the glacis you come to extensive tracts of table land, and further back to gentle swells of hard wood. This description, however, is not without some exceptions. The settlers raise large supplies of wheat, oats,

barley, hay, and the best potatoes I ever met with, and indeed every article that can be raised in New England they have in abundance, with the exception of Indian corn, they are not, however, what we should call good husbandmen.

The land on the Arcostook River is also of an excellent quality for cultivation; there are upwards of twenty families settled on the banks of this river; they all do something in agriculture, but most of them employ their time principally in lumbering; they are very anxious to be quieted in their possessions, but we had no authority relating to them. On our way to New Brunswick, we were informed that the Government had received instructions, from home, not to grant any more permits for cutting timber upon the Arcostook or Madawaska Rivers, until the boundary lines are permanently established. This information has been confirmed to us by the lumberers, with this addition, that the permits given for the approaching winter have been recalled, which has disappointed a great many who had previously got their supplies up river with a view to lumber extensively. We thought, under these circumstances, it would be well to make some provisions, by which they might obtain timber from our soil, and prevent their disappointment, inasmuch as the supplies they have of provisions, &c. near our lines, would undoubtedly enable them to plunder, and would be so used if not permitted to cut. We appointed, with this view, an agent at Madawaska, and another at Arcostook, with power to grant permits under certain conditions and restrictions.

On our return to Fredericton, we called at the Surveyor General's Office for an answer to our communication; he was not in his office. The Clerk informed us that he was at his house, as his dwelling was in danger from the burning woods. He (the Clerk) did not know of any answer, but that the Suveyor General wished to be informed when we called, and that he would immediately inform him. We told the clerk, that if any communication was to be made, we should be found at the Fredericton Hotel until Thursday morning, seven o'clock, (this being Tuesday)—we received no reply whatever. Whether it was the intention of the Surveyor General to withhold from us the information we wished, or whether

it was owing to the confusion the town was in, in consequence of the conflagration of a large part of the village, we do not know, but we have reason to believe it was from the first motive. The information has however been fully obtained from the lumberers as before mentioned, In conversation with the merchants of the city of St. John, and Fredericton, we found they expressed generally the opinion, that by the treaty of 1783 we obtained an advantage over them, which at the time was little understood; and that according to the treaty, the Province of New Brunswick would be nearly disjoined from Lower Canada, which could not be submitted to; and that all that territory north-east of St. John and Madawaska rivers must be theirs at any rate, by purchase or compromise; should a compromise be made, as has several times been intimated, so as to surrender up our claim to the above territory, and receive therefore all west of the St. John river, as low down as Eel river and North Lake, we shall lose about one-half the settlers at Madawaska, as about that proportion are on the east side, and obtain a larger number on the west side, below the Grand Falls that are hardly worth having. As it is of importance to the British to have a free use of the Madawaska river as a highway for the transportation of the Mail, &c. we ought, at the same time, to require the right of a free navigation and use of the St. John river, for the transportation of our lumber and other commodities, to Eastport and elsewhere, without being subject to duties; and also that the several grants made to the Madawaska settlers be taken into account, and that compensation be made for the timber cut under the permits. Should a compromise upon these terms be made, we think it would be of mutual advantage to both nations; for our present line cuts off a portion of the Aroostigouch river, where there is a large body of fine pine timber growth.

We have recommended to Governor Parris (which has met his entire approbation) the following measures, to be adopted as expedient for the interest of all concerned, viz:

That two Justices of the Peace be commissioned; that a Deputy Sheriff or Constable be appointed; and that one or more Military Districts be formed at Madawaska, and

at a suitable time to be so organized that they may have a Representative in the Legislature of Maine; and we think it would be the interest of both States, that authority be granted to sell to the Madawaska settlers the land they have in possession, more than one hundred acres, for a reasonable consideration; and that a bushed winter road be cut from the head quarters at Penobscot, in a direction near the head of the Arostook, and continued to Madawaska or Fish Rivers; the distance is about one hundred miles; the expence would not exceed twenty dollars per mile, and it would probably enhance the value of each township through which it goes, equal to the cost of the whole road, and open a country that has scarcely been seen.

I herewith have the honour to transmit a sketch of that part of Maine, as all the maps now in use are very erroneous in regard to that quarter.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient,
and very humble Servant,
GEO. W. COFFIN,
Land Agent.'

No. V.

Comparison of the Increase of the annual Exports from Great Britain, to all parts of the World, to the United States, the West Indies, and the North American Colonies, respectively, from the Year 1774 *to* 1824, *on an average of ten Years preceding each Period, according to their official Value.*—(Moreau's Table.)

Years.	Whole Exports.	To the United States.	West Indies.	N. A. Colonies.
1774	£16,406,110	2,316,737	1,289,006	344,551
1784	13,837,621	443,358	1,411,149	858,164
1794	21,130,167	2,964,043	2,152,061	870,591
1804	32,875,149	6,140,572	3,903,448	1,028,846
1814	40,932,265	5,138,646	4,904,940	1,690,733
1824	55,279,919	7,997,692	5,162,219	1,911,336
Comparative Increase of the several Amounts in 1824 above those of 1774.	235 per cent.	245 per cent.	300 per cent.	455 per cent.
Comparative Increase of the proportion of the parts to the whole.		½ per cent.	1⅜ per cent.	1½ per cent.
Exports of 1825.	60,898,632	7,141,285	4,870,835	2,244,245

Comparison of the Increase of British Tonnage employed ann

Great Britain and the United States, the West

YEARS.	WHOLE TONNAGE.		TO THE UNI
1772.	Average of the Amount cleared outwards on the 3 preceding years (1) .	834,066	Medium of the Amo tered and cleare Average of the ceding years. Tonnage 86,745 which $\frac{6}{8}$ were i. e. (2) . . . . .
1789.	The like Average(1)	1,376,841	The like Medium & A
1799.	Like Average on 10 years(1)	1,322,238	Medium and Average years(3) . . . . .
1808. The Colonial returns from 1808 to 1814 are lost.	The like on 9 years(1) . . .	1,433,691	
1824.	The like on 10 years(1) . . .	2,229,540	Average of the A cleared on 10 years
Comparison of the several Amounts in 1824 with 1772.	167 per cent. Increase.		21 per cent. I
Comparison of the proportion of the parts to the whole in 1824 with 1772.	. . . . .		$5\frac{5}{10}$ per cent
1825.	Whole Amount cleared(1) .	2,262,458	Whole Amo

(1) Moreau's Table. (2) Report of the Lords o

BRITISH COLONIES.

EXPORTS.		TONNAGE.		
icles	£50,404	(*d*) Canada		7,628
built, 60 tons . . .	600	(*d*) Newfoundland		10,458
d. Articles	150,952	(*d*) Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island,		7,324
built, 30 tons . . .	300			
ick, rd's Isl. } Articles.	15,435	Hudson's Bay		
built, 110 tons . .	1,100			
y	7,087			
hole amount	£225,878	Whole amount		25,410 tons.
rticles	£965,243	(*l*) Canada	235,896 tons	10,166 men.
g built, 22,636 tons	226,360	(*m*) Newfoundland	90,000	4,580
nd. Articles	764,677	(*n*) Nova Scotia . .	89,723	4,596
g Built,		(*o*) New Brunswick	274,253	12,161
. Articles	640,220	(*k*) Prince Ed.'s Is.		
g built, 17,000 tons	170,000	(*p*) Hudson's Bay		
wick. Articles . . .	462,043	Whole amount .	689,872	31,503
g built, 16,488 tons	164,880			
ard's Island. Articles				
g built,				
ay	106,640			
amount currency	£3,500,063		689,872 tons.	
Sterling . .	£3,150,057			
. . 1280 per cent.		2610 per cent.		

g to the proportion their tonnage usually bears to their exports. In 1823 their *ire Philosophique*, edition of 1772. It is to be remembered that the exports and here supplied from Macpherson. (*e*) Macpherson. We have no account g to the prices current. (*g*) Computed in like manner from official accounts. ed from the Port of Halifax for eight months of the last year. To which we Britain and the West Indies bears to such tonnage of the Port. (*i*) Official dding, and tonnage for that year were much greater. (*k*) Of this Colony f 1823, give 80,532 tons, of 1821, 91,310. The number of men is computed Port of Halifax for 1824, as the returns of the Port for last year are only to nage.

These Tables, it is hoped, will convey a favourable idea of the difference between Colonial and Foreign Trade, and of the increase and resources, of our Provinces in North America. The imperfection and irregularity observable in our Accounts is owing to want of information, which we have not the time, or means, to acquire. As we have reckoned the Ships built among Exports, it is necessary to remark, that most of these are intended for the English market, as remittances for goods, quite as much, as the Timber with which they are laden; and as this may not be the case with all, and it is difficult to say with how many, the fairer way appeared to be, to put down in the other side of the Account, the Shipping built in 69, though these were probably all for domestic trade; this can make little difference in the comparison, as our object is to measure, not the value of Exports, with the United States, but the relative increase. On both sides, the vessels are computed at the same price, £10. per ton, their worth, or their cost, in the Colonies, last year. In strictness, perhaps, the United States should be charged, in 69, with part of 20,000 tons, the amount built by them in that year, most of which were then merely a remittance to England, as now in the Colonies. This would considerably diminish the ratio of their increase, as their situation now must have nearly deprived them of such an export.

The year of 1825 was indeed a year of over-trading in the Colonies, as well as elsewhere; but no less so in the United States. The extraordinary rise of their cotton here, as well as other causes, made their exports for that year to exceed their imports by more than three millions, (an event perhaps unprecedented in their history,) and exceed their exports in 1822, by seven-and-twenty millions, of dollars. In 1769 the proportion of foreign produce in their exports was about 1-30th. During the last twenty years it has frequently formed a half, sometimes more, and seldom less than a third or fourth part.

The account of Tonnage cleared from the Colonies, includes Foreign Vessels, but is strictly exclusive of the coasting Trade, Fisheries, or Trade of the Lakes. The Americans calculate the average value of their freights, out and home, in foreign Trade, at 50, or even 70 dol-

lars a ton. (*Seybert*, 281.) As more vessels return to the Colonies in ballast, if we value their voyages at half that sum, or even at £5. a ton, and take the tonnage cleared last year at 700,000, (and were the returns complete it would be found no less,) the freights of that Country must have been £3,500,000.

The Map, which has been added, of the Boundary Line, is of course not intended as any evidence of our claim, but only to convey a clearer idea of the question.

THE END.

LONDON:
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET.

REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTER AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN MILTON;

OCCASIONED BY THE

PUBLICATION OF HIS LATELY DISCOVERED

'TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.'

BY THE REV. DR. CHANNING,

OF BOSTON, NORTH AMERICA.

BOSTON, *PRINTED*:—LONDON, *REPRINTED*

FOR EDWARD RAINFORD, 13 RED LION PASSAGE, RED LION SQUARE;
SOLD ALSO BY R. HUNTER, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD:
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1826.

[These Remarks appeared anonymously in "The Christian Examiner" published at Boston. They were put into the Publisher's hands by an American gentleman of this city, who received several copies of the pamphlet from Boston as the work of Dr. Channing.]

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR,
SHOE-LANE.

CHARACTER AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone. By JOHN MILTON. Translated from the Original by CHARLES R. SUMNER, M.A. Librarian and Historiographer to His Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury. From the London Edition. Boston, 1825. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE discovery of a work of Milton, unknown to his own times, is an important event in literary history. The consideration, that we of this age are the first readers of this treatise, naturally heightens our interest in it; for we seem in this way to be brought nearer to the author, and to sustain the same relation which his cotemporaries bore to his writings. The work opens with a salutation, which, from any other man, might be chargeable with inflation; but which we feel to be the natural and appropriate expression of the spirit of Milton. Endowed with gifts of the soul, which have been imparted to few of our race, and conscious of having consecrated them through life to God and mankind, he rose without effort or affectation to the style of an Apostle.—'JOHN MILTON, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AND TO ALL WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH, AND ETERNAL SALVATION IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.' Our ears are the first to hear this benediction, and it seems not so much to be borne to us from a distant age, as to come immediately from the sainted spirit by which it was indited.

Without meaning to disparage the 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine,' we may say that it owes very much of the attention which it has excited, to the fame of its author. We value it

chiefly as showing us the mind of Milton on that subject which above all others presses upon men of thought and sensibility. We want to know in what conclusions such a man rested after a life of extensive and profound research, of magnanimous efforts for freedom and his country, and of communion with the most gifted minds of his own and former times. The book derives its chief interest from its author, and accordingly there seems to be a propriety in introducing our remarks upon it with some notice of the character of Milton. We are not sure that we could have abstained from this subject, even if we had not been able to offer so good an apology for attempting it. The intellectual and moral qualities of a great man are attractions not easily withstood, and we can hardly serve others or ourselves more, than by recalling to him the attention, which is scattered among inferior topics.

In speaking of the *intellectual* qualities of Milton, we may begin with observing, that the very splendour of his poetic fame has tended to obscure or conceal the extent of his mind, and the variety of its energies and attainments. To many he seems only a poet, when in truth he was a profound scholar, a man of vast compass of thought, imbued thoroughly with all ancient and modern learning, and able to master, to mould, to impregnate with his own intellectual power, his great and various acquisitions. He had not learned the superficial doctrine of a later day,—that poetry flourishes most in an uncultivated soil, and that imagination shapes its brightest visions from the mists of a superstitious age; and he had no dread of accumulating knowledge, lest it should oppress and smother his genius. He was conscious of that within him, which could quicken all knowledge, and wield it with ease and might; which could give freshness to old truths and harmony to discordant thoughts; which could bind together by living ties and mysterious affinities the most remote discoveries; and rear fabrics of glory and beauty from the rude materials which other minds had collected. Milton had that universality which marks the highest order of intellect. Though accustomed almost from infancy to drink at the fountains of classical literature, he had nothing of the pedantry and fastidiousness which disdain all other draughts. His healthy mind delighted in genius, on whatever soil or in whatever age it burst forth and poured out its fulness. He understood too well the rights, and dignity, and pride of creative imagination, to lay on it the laws of the Greek or Roman

school. Parnassus was not to him the only holy ground of genius. He felt that poetry was as a universal presence. Great minds were every where his kindred. He felt the enchantment of Oriental fiction, surrendered himself to the strange creations of 'Araby the blest,' and delighted still more in the romantic spirit of chivalry, and in the tales of wonder in which it was embodied. Accordingly his poetry reminds us of the ocean, which adds to its own boundlessness contributions from all regions under heaven. Nor was it only in the department of imagination, that his acquisitions were vast. He travelled over the whole field of knowledge, as far as it had then been explored. His various philological attainments were used to put him in possession of the wisdom stored in all countries, where the intellect had been cultivated. The natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, history, theology and political science of his own and former times, were familiar to him. Never was there a more unconfined mind, and we would cite Milton as a practical example of the benefits of that universal culture of intellect, which forms one distinction of our times, but which some dread as unfriendly to original thought. Let such remember, that mind is in its own nature diffusive. Its object is the universe, which is strictly one, or bound together by infinite connexions and correspondencies; and accordingly its natural progress is from one to another field of thought; and wherever original power, creative genius exists, the mind, far from being distracted or oppressed by the variety of its acquisitions, will see more and more common bearings and hidden and beautiful analogies in all the objects of knowledge, will see mutual light shed from truth to truth, and will compel, as with a kingly power, whatever it understands, to yield some tribute of proof, or illustration, or splendour, to whatever topic it would unfold.

Milton's fame rests chiefly on his poetry, and to this we naturally give our first attention. By those who are accustomed to speak of poetry as light reading, Milton's eminence in this sphere may be considered only as giving him a high rank among the contributors to public amusement. Not so thought Milton. Of all God's gifts of intellect, he esteemed poetical genius the most transcendant. He esteemed it in himself as a kind of inspiration, and wrote his great works with something of the conscious dignity of a prophet. We agree with Milton in his estimate of poetry. It seems to us the divinest of all arts; for it is the breathing or expression of that principle or sentiment, which is deepest and sublimest in human nature; we mean, of that thirst

er aspiration, to which no mind is wholly a stranger, for something purer and lovelier, something more powerful, lofty, and thrilling than ordinary and real life affords. No doctrine is more common among Christians than that of man's immortality; but it is not so generally understood, that the germs or principles of his whole future being are *now* wrapped up in his soul, as the rudiments of the future plant in the seed. As a necessary result of this constitution, the soul, possessed and moved by these mighty though infant energies, is perpetually stretching beyond what is present and visible, struggling against the bounds of its earthly prison-house, and seeking relief and joy in imaginings of unseen and ideal being. This view of our nature, which has never been fully developed, and which goes further towards explaining the contradictions of human life than all others, carries us to the very foundation and sources of poetry. He, who cannot interpret by his own consciousness what we now have said, wants the true key to works of genius. He has not penetrated those sacred recesses of the soul, where poetry is born and nourished, and inhales immortal vigour, and wings herself for her heavenward flight. In an intellectual nature, framed for progress and for higher modes of being, there must be creative energies, powers of original and ever growing thought; and poetry is the form in which these energies are chiefly manifested. It is the glorious prerogative of this art, that it 'makes all things new' for the gratification of a divine instinct. It indeed finds its elements in what it actually sees and experiences, in the worlds of matter and mind; but it combines and blends these into new forms and according to new affinities; breaks down, if we may so say, the distinctions and bounds of nature; imparts to material objects life, and sentiment, and emotion, and invests the mind with the powers and splendours of the outward creation; describes the surrounding universe in the colours which the passions throw over it, and depicts the mind in those modes of repose or agitation, of tenderness or sublime emotion, which manifest its thirst for a more powerful and joyful existence. To a man of a literal and prosaic character, the mind may seem lawless in these workings; but it observes higher laws than it transgresses, the laws of the immortal intellect; it is trying and developing its best faculties; and in the objects which it describes, or in the emotions which it awakens, anticipates those states of progressive power, splendour, beauty and happiness, for which it was created.

We accordingly believe that poetry, far from injuring society, is one of the great instruments of its refinement and exaltation. It lifts the mind above ordinary life, gives it a respite from depressing cares, and awakens the consciousness of its affinity with what is pure and noble. In its legitimate and highest efforts, it has the same tendency and aim with Christianity; that is, to spiritualize our nature. True; poetry has been made the instrument of vice, the pander of bad passions; but when genius thus stoops, it dims its fires, and parts with much of its power; and even when poetry is enslaved to licentiousness or misanthropy, she cannot wholly forget her true vocation. Strains of pure feeling, touches of tenderness, images of innocent happiness, sympathies with suffering virtue, bursts of scorn or indignation at the hollowness of the world, passages true to our moral nature, often escape in an immoral work, and show us how hard it is for a gifted spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good. Poetry has a natural alliance with our best affections. It delights in the beauty and sublimity of the outward creation and of the soul. It indeed portrays with terrible energy the excesses of the passions; but they are passions which show a mighty nature, which are full of power, which command awe, and excite a deep though shuddering sympathy. Its great tendency and purpose is, to carry the mind beyond and above the beaten, dusty, weary walks of ordinary life; to lift it into a purer element, and to breathe into it more profound and generous emotion. It reveals to us the loveliness of nature, brings back the freshness of youthful feeling, revives the relish of simple pleasures, keeps unquenched the enthusiasm which warmed the spring-time of our being, refines youthful love, strengthens our interest in human nature by vivid delineations of its tenderest and loftiest feelings, spreads our sympathies over all classes of society, knits us by new ties with universal being, and through the brightness of its prophetic visions helps faith to lay hold on the future life.

We are aware, that it is objected to poetry, that it gives wrong views and excites false expectations of life, peoples the mind with shadows and illusions, and builds up imagination on the ruins of wisdom. That there is a wisdom, against which poetry wars, the wisdom of the senses, which makes physical comfort and gratification the supreme good, and wealth the chief interest of life, we do not deny; nor do we deem it the least service which poetry renders to mankind, that it redeems them

from the thraldom of this earthborn prudence. But, passing over this topic, we would observe, that the complaint against poetry as abounding in illusion and deception, is in the main groundless. In many poems there is more of truth than in many histories and philosophic theories. The fictions of genius are often the vehicles of the sublimest verities, and its flashes often open new regions of thought, and throw new light on the mysteries of our being. In poetry the letter is falsehood, but the spirit is often profoundest wisdom. And if truth thus dwells in the boldest fictions of the poet, much more may it be expected in his delineations of life; for the present life, which is the first stage of the immortal mind, abounds in the materials of poetry, and it is the high office of the bard to detect this divine element among the grosser labours and pleasures of our earthly being. The present life is not wholly prosaic, precise, tame and finite. To the gifted eye, it abounds in the poetic. The affections which spread beyond ourselves and stretch far into futurity; the workings of mighty passions, which seem to arm the soul with an almost superhuman energy; the innocent and irrepressible joy of infancy; the bloom, and buoyancy, and dazzling hopes of youth; the throbbings of the heart, when it first wakes to love, and dreams of a happiness too vast for earth; woman, with her beauty, and grace, and gentleness, and fulness of feeling, and depth of affection, and her blushes of purity, and the tones and looks which only a mother's heart can inspire;—these are all poetical. It is not true that the poet paints a life which does not exist. He only extracts and concentrates, as it were, life's ethereal essence, arrests and condenses its volatile fragrance, brings together its scattered beauties, and prolongs its more refined but evanescent joys; and in this he does well; for it is good to feel that life is not wholly usurped by cares for subsistence, and physical gratifications, but admits, in measures which may be indefinitely enlarged, sentiments and delights worthy of a higher being. This power of poetry to refine our views of life and happiness is more and more needed as society advances. It is needed to withstand the encroachments of heartless and artificial manners, which make civilization so tame and uninteresting. It is needed to counteract the tendency of physical science, which being now sought, not as formerly for intellectual gratification, but for multiplying bodily comforts, requires a new developement of imagination, taste and poetry, to preserve men from sinking into anearthly, material, epicurean life.—Our remarks in vindi-

cation of poetry have extended beyond our original design. They have had a higher aim than to assert the dignity of Milton as a poet, and that is, to endear and recommend this divine art to all who reverence and would cultivate and refine their nature.

In delineating Milton's character as a *poet*, we are saved the necessity of looking far for its distinguishing attributes. His name is almost identified with sublimity. He is in truth the sublimest of men. He rises, not by effort or discipline, but by a native tendency and a godlike instinct to the contemplation of objects of grandeur and awfulness. He always moves with a conscious energy. There is no subject so vast or terrific, as to repel or intimidate him. The overpowering grandeur of a theme kindles and attracts him. He enters on the description of the infernal regions with a fearless tread, as if he felt within himself a power to erect the prison-house of fallen spirits, to encircle them with flames and horrors worthy of their crimes, to call forth from them shouts which should 'tear hell's concave,' and to embody in their Chief an Archangel's energies and a Demon's pride and hate. Even the stupendous conception of Satan seems never to oppress his faculties. This character of power runs through all Milton's works. His descriptions of nature show a free and bold hand. He has no need of the minute, graphic skill, which we prize in Cowper or Crabbe. With a few strong or delicate touches, he impresses, as it were, his own mind on the scenes which he would describe, and kindles the imagination of the gifted reader to clothe them with the same radiant hues under which they appeared to his own.

This attribute of power is universally felt to characterize Milton. His sublimity is in every man's mouth. Is it felt that his poetry breathes a sensibility and tenderness hardly surpassed by its sublimity? We apprehend that the grandeur of Milton's mind has thrown some shade over his milder beauties; and this it has done not only by being more striking and imposing, but by the tendency of vast mental energy to give a certain calmness to the expression of tenderness and deep feeling. A great mind is the master of its own enthusiasm, and does not often break out into those tumults, which pass with many for the signs of profound emotion. Its sensibility, though more intense and enduring, is more self-possessed, and less perturbed than that of other men, and is therefore less observed and felt, except by those who understand, through their own

consciousness, the workings and utterance of genuine feeling. We might quote pages in illustration of the qualities here ascribed to Milton. Turn to Comus, one of his earliest productions. What sensibility breathes in the descriptions of the benighted Lady's singing, by Comus and the Spirit!

COMUS.

Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment?
Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify his hidden residence:
How sweetly did they float upon the wings
Of silence, through the empty-vaulted night,
At every fall smoothing the raven down
Of darkness till it smil'd! I have oft heard
My mother Circe with the Sirens three,
Amidst the flow'ry-kirtled Naiades,
Culling their potent herbs and baleful drugs,
Who, as they sung, would take the prison'd soul,
And lap it in Elysium; Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmur'd soft applause:
Yet they in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense,
And in sweet madness robb'd it of itself;
But such a sacred, and home-felt delight,
Such sober certainty of waking bliss,
I never heard till now. Lines 244—264.

SPIRIT.

At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound
Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,
And stole upon the air, that even Silence
Was took ere she was ware, and wish'd she might
Deny her nature, and be never more,
Still to be so displac'd. I was all ear,
And took in strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of Death. Lines 555—563.

In illustration of Milton's tenderness, we will open almost at a venture:

Now morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,
And temp'rate vapours bland, which th' only sound

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he on his side
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake,
My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
Awake: the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tender plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colours, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet.

Par. Lost, b. v. lines 1—25.

So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.

Ibid. b. v. lines 129—135.

From this very imperfect view of the qualities of Milton's poetry, we hasten to his great work, Paradise Lost, perhaps the noblest monument of human genius. The two first books, by universal consent, stand pre-eminent in sublimity. Hell and Hell's King have a terrible harmony, and dilate into new grandeur and awfulness, the longer we contemplate them. From one element, 'solid and liquid fire,' the poet has framed a world of horror and suffering, such as imagination had never traversed. But fiercer flames, than those which encompass Satan, burn in his own soul. Revenge, exasperated pride, consuming wrath, ambition though fallen, yet unconquered by the thunders of the Omnipotent, and grasping still at the empire of the universe,—these form a picture more sublime and terrible than Hell. Hell yields to the spirit which it imprisons. The intensity of its fires reveals the intenser passions and more vehe-

ment will of Satan; and the ruined Archangel gathers into himself the sublimity of the scene which surrounds him. This forms the tremendous interest of these wonderful books. We see mind triumphant over the most terrible powers of nature. We see unutterable agony subdued by energy of soul. We have not indeed in Satan those bursts of passion, which rive the soul as well as shatter the outward frame of Lear. But we have a depth of passion which only an Archangel could manifest. The all-enduring, all-defying pride of Satan, assuming so majestically Hell's burning throne, and coveting the diadem, which scorches his thunder-blasted brow, is a creation requiring in its author almost the spiritual energy with which he invests the fallen seraph. Some have doubted whether the moral effect of such delineations of the storms and terrible workings of the soul is good; whether the interest felt in a spirit so transcendently evil as Satan, favours our sympathies with virtue. But our interest fastens, in this and like cases, on what is not evil. We gaze on Satan with an awe not unmixed with mysterious pleasure, as on a miraculous manifestation of the *power of mind.* What chains us, as with a resistless spell, in such a character, is spiritual might made visible by the racking pains which it overpowers. There is something kindling and ennobling in the consciousness, however awakened, of the energy which resides in mind; and many a virtuous man has borrowed new strength from the force, constancy, and dauntless courage of evil agents.

Milton's description of Satan attests in various ways the power of his genius. Critics have often observed, that the great difficulty of his work was to reconcile the spiritual properties of his supernatural beings with the human modes of existence, which he was obliged to ascribe to them; and the difficulty is too great for any genius wholly to overcome, and we must acknowledge that our enthusiasm is in some parts of the poem checked by a feeling of incongruity between the spiritual agent, and his sphere and mode of agency. But we are visited with no such chilling doubts and misgivings in the description of Satan in Hell. Imagination has here achieved its highest triumph, in imparting a character of reality and truth to its most daring creations. That world of horrors, though material, is yet so remote from our ordinary nature, that a spiritual being, exiled from heaven, finds there an appropriate home. There is, too, an indefiniteness in the description of Satan's person, which incites without shocking the imagination, and aids us to com-

bine in our conception of him the massiness of a real form with the vagueness of spiritual existence. To the production of this effect, much depends on the first impression given by the poet; for this is apt to follow us through the whole work; and here we think Milton eminently successful. The first glimpse of Satan is given us in the following lines, which, whilst too indefinite to provoke the scrutiny of the reason, fill the imagination of the reader with a form which can hardly be effaced.

> Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate
> With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
> That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
> Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
> Lay floating many a rood, * * *
>
> Par. Lost, b. i. lines 192—196.

> Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
> His mighty stature; on each hand the flames,
> Driv'n backward, slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
> In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid vale. Ibid. 221—224.

We have more which we should gladly say of the delineation of Satan; especially of the glimpses which are now and then given of his deep anguish and despair, and of the touches of better feelings which are skilfully thrown into the dark picture, both suited and designed to blend with our admiration, dread, and abhorrence, a measure of that sympathy and interest with which every living, thinking being ought to be regarded, and without which all other feelings tend to sin and pain. But there is another topic which we cannot leave untouched. From Hell we flee to Paradise, a region as lovely as Hell is terrible, and which to those who do not know the universality of true genius, will appear doubly wonderful, when considered as the creation of the same mind which had painted the infernal world.

Paradise and its inhabitants are in sweet accordance, and together form a scene of tranquil bliss, which calms and soothes, whilst it delights the imagination. Adam and Eve, just moulded by the hand, and quickened by the breath of God, reflect in their countenances and forms, as well as minds, the intelligence, benignity, and happiness of their author. Their new existence has the freshness and peacefulness of the dewy morning. Their souls, unsated and untainted, find an innocent joy in the youthful creation, which spreads and smiles around them. Their mutual love is deep, for it is the love of young, unworn, unexhausted hearts,

which meet in each other the only human objects on whom to pour forth their fulness of affection; and still it is serene, for it is the love of happy beings, who know not suffering even by name, whose innocence excludes not only the tumults but the thought of jealousy and shame, who, 'imparadised in one another's arms,' scarce dream of futurity, so blessed is their present being. We will not say that we envy our first parents; for we feel that there may be higher happiness than theirs, a happiness won through struggle with inward and outward foes, the happiness of power and moral victory, the happiness of disinterested sacrifices and wide-spread love, the happiness of boundless hope, and of 'thoughts which wander through eternity.' Still there are times, when the spirit, oppressed with pain, worn with toil, tired of tumult, sick at the sight of guilt, wounded in its love, baffled in its hope, and trembling in its faith, almost longs for the 'wings of a dove, that it might fly away' and take refuge amidst the 'shady bowers,' the 'vernal airs,' the 'roses without thorns,' the quiet, the beauty, the loveliness of Eden. It is the contrast of this deep peace of Paradise with the storms of life, which gives to the fourth and fifth books of this poem a charm so irresistible, that not a few would sooner relinquish the two first books, with all their sublimity, than part with these. It has sometimes been said, that the English language has no good pastoral poetry. We would ask, in what age or country has the pastoral reed breathed such sweet strains as are borne to us on 'the odoriferous wings of gentle gales' from Milton's Paradise?

We should not fulfil our duty, were we not to say one word on what has been justly celebrated, the harmony of Milton's versification. His numbers have the prime charm of expressiveness. They vary with, and answer to the depth, or tenderness, or sublimity of his conceptions, and hold intimate alliance with the soul. Like Michael Angelo, in whose hands the marble was said to be flexible, he bends our language, which foreigners reproach with hardness, into whatever forms the subject demands. All the treasures of sweet and solemn sound are at his command. Words, harsh and discordant in the writings of less gifted men, flow through his poetry in a full stream of harmony. This power over language is not to be ascribed to Milton's musical ear. It belongs to the soul. It is a gift or exercise of genius, which has power to impress itself on whatever it touches, and finds or frames in sounds, motions, and material forms, correspondences and harmonies with its own fervid thoughts and feelings.

We close our remarks on Milton's poetry with observing, that it is characterized by seriousness. Great and various as are its merits, it does not discover all the variety of genius, which we find in Shakspeare, whose imagination revelled equally in regions of mirth, beauty and terror, now evoking spectres, now sporting with fairies, and now 'ascending the highest heaven of invention.' Milton was cast on times too solemn and eventful, was called to take part in transactions too perilous, and had too perpetual need of the presence of high thoughts and motives, to indulge himself in light and gay creations, even had his genius been more flexible and sportive. But Milton's poetry, though habitually serious, is always healthful, and bright, and vigorous. It has no gloom. He took no pleasure in drawing dark pictures of life; for he knew by experience, that there is a power in the soul to transmute calamity into an occasion and nutriment of moral power and triumphant virtue. We find nowhere in his writings that whining sensibility and exaggeration of morbid feeling, which makes so much of modern poetry effeminating. If he is not gay, he is not spirit-broken. His L'Allegro proves, that he understood thoroughly the bright and joyous aspects of nature; and in his Penseroso, where he was tempted to accumulate images of gloom, we learn that the saddest views which he took of creation, are such as inspire only pensive musing or lofty contemplation.

From Milton's poetry, we turn to his *prose*. We rejoice that the dust is beginning to be wiped from his prose writings, and that the public are now learning, what the initiated have long known, that these contain passages hardly inferior to his best poetry, and that they are throughout marked with the same vigorous mind, which gave us Paradise Lost. The attention to these works has been discouraged by some objections, on which we shall bestow a few remarks.

And first, it is objected to his prose writings, that the style is difficult and obscure, abounding in involutions, transpositions and latinisms; that his protracted sentences exhaust and weary the mind, and too often yield it no better recompense, than confused and indistinct perceptions. We mean not to deny that these charges have some grounds; but they seem to us much exaggerated; and when we consider that the difficulties of Milton's style have almost sealed up his prose writings, we cannot but lament the fastidiousness and effeminacy of modern readers. We know that simplicity and perspicuity are

important qualities of style; but there are vastly nobler and more important ones; such as energy and richness, and in these Milton is not surpassed. The best style is not that which puts the reader most easily and in the shortest time in possession of a writer's naked thoughts; but that which is the truest image of a great intellect, which conveys fully and carries furthest into other souls the conceptions and feelings of a profound and lofty spirit. To be universally intelligible is not the highest merit. A great mind cannot, without injurious constraint, shrink itself to the grasp of common passive readers. Its natural movement is free, bold and majestic, and it ought not to be required to part with these attributes, that the multitude may keep pace with it. A full mind will naturally overflow in long sentences, and in the moment of inspiration, when thick-coming thoughts and images crowd upon it, will often pour them forth in a splendid confusion, dazzling to common readers, but kindling to congenial spirits. There are writings which are clear through their shallowness. We must not expect in the ocean the transparency of the calm inland stream. For ourselves, we love what is called easy reading perhaps too well, especially in our hours of relaxation; but we love too to have our faculties tasked by master spirits. We delight in long sentences, in which a great truth, instead of being broken up into numerous periods, is spread out in its full proportions, is irradiated with variety of illustration and imagery, is set forth in a splendid affluence of language, and flows, like a full stream, with a majestic harmony which fills at once the ear and the soul. Such sentences are worthy and noble manifestations of a great and far-looking mind, which grasps at once vast fields of thought, just as the natural eye takes in at a moment wide prospects of grandeur and beauty. We would not indeed have all compositions of this character. Let abundant provision be made for the common intellect. Let such writers as Addison (an honoured name) 'bring down philosophy from heaven to earth.' But let inspired genius fulfil its higher function of lifting the prepared mind from earth to heaven. Impose upon it no strict laws, for it is its own best law. Let it speak in its own language, in tones which suit its own ear. Let it not lay aside its natural port, or dwarf itself that it may be comprehended by the surrounding multitude. If not understood and relished now, let it place a generous confidence in other ages, and utter oracles, which futurity will expound. We are led to these remarks not merely for Milton's justification, but because our times seem to demand them. Literature we fear is becoming

too popular. The whole community is now turned into readers, and in this we heartily rejoice; and we rejoice too that so much talent is employed in making knowledge accessible to all. We hail the general diffusion of intelligence as the brightest feature of the present age. But good and evil are never disjoined; and one bad consequence of the multitude of readers is, that men of genius are too anxious to please the multitude, and prefer a present shout of popularity to that less tumultuous, but deeper, more thrilling note of the trump of fame, which resounds and grows clearer and louder through all future ages.

We now come to a much more serious objection to Milton's prose writings, and that is, that they are disfigured by party spirit, coarse invective, and controversial asperity; and here we are prepared to say, that there are passages in these works which every admirer of his character must earnestly desire to expunge. Milton's alleged virulence was manifested towards private and public foes. The first, such as Salmasius and Morus, deserved no mercy, they poured out on his spotless character torrents of calumny, charging him with the blackest vices of the heart and the foulest enormities of the life. It ought to be added, that the manners and spirit of Milton's age justified a retaliation on such offenders, which the more courteous, and, we will hope, more christian spirit of the present times will not tolerate. Still we mean not to be his apologists. Milton, raised as he was above his age, and fortified with the consciousness of high virtue, ought to have been both to his own and future times an example of christian equanimity. In regard to the public enemies whom he assailed, we mean the despots in church and state, and the corrupt institutions which had stirred up a civil war, the general strain of his writings, though strong and stern, must exalt him, notwithstanding his occasional violence, among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty was in peril. Great evils were struggling for perpetuity, and could only be broken down by great power. Milton felt, that interests of infinite moment were at stake; and who will blame him for binding himself to them with the whole energy of his great mind, and for defending them with fervour and vehemence? We must not mistake christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes. All improvement is a victory won by struggles. It is especially true of those great pe-

riods which have been distinguished by revolutions in government and religion, and from which we date the most rapid movements of the human mind, that they have been signalized by conflict. Thus Christianity convulsed the world and grew up amidst storms; and the reformation of Luther was a signal to universal war; and Liberty in both worlds has encountered opposition, over which she has triumphed only through her own immortal energies. At such periods, men gifted with great power of thought and loftiness of sentiment are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy; and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary men in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere, but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits, as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations.

We have offered these remarks as strongly applicable to Milton. He reverenced and loved human nature, and attached himself to its great interests with a fervour of which only such a mind was capable. He lived in one of those solemn periods which determine the character of ages to come. His spirit was stirred to its very centre by the presence of danger. He lived in the midst of the battle. That the ardour of his spirit sometimes passed the bounds of wisdom and charity, and poured forth unwarrantable invective, we see and lament. But the purity and loftiness of his mind break forth amidst his bitterest invectives. We see a noble nature still. We see that no feigned love of truth and freedom was a covering for selfishness and malignity. He did indeed love and adore uncorrupted religion, and intellectual liberty, and let his name be enrolled among their truest champions.

Milton has told us in his own noble style, that he entered on his principal controversy with episcopacy reluctantly and only through a deep conviction of duty. The introduction to the second book of his 'Reasons of Church Government,' shows us

the workings of his mind on this subject, and is his best vindication from the charge we are now repelling. He says—

'Surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing, to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. * * * This I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. * * * But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours.'—Vol. I. p. 115—117.*

* From the Introduction to the second book of 'The Reason of Church Government,' &c. Vol. I. p. 114, &c. of Symmons's edition of Milton's Prose Works, to which all our references are made.

He then goes on to speak of his consciousness of possessing great poetical powers, which he was most anxious to cultivate. Of these he speaks thus magnificently.

'These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power,—to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue, and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship; lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without; or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe.'—Vol. I. p. 120.

He then gives intimations of his having proposed to himself a great poetical work; 'a work,' he says,

'Not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.'
Vol. I. p. 122.

He then closes with a passage, showing from what principles he forsook these delightful studies for controversy.

'I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies. * * * But were it the meanest underservice, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions; till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what

tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.'—Vol. I. p. 123.

These passages, replete with Milton's genius and greatness of soul, show us the influences and motives under which his prose works were written, and help us to interpret passages, which, if taken separately, might justify us in ascribing to him a character of excessive indignation and scorn.

Milton's most celebrated prose work is his 'Areopagitica, or a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' a noble work indeed, a precious manual of freedom, an arsenal of immortal weapons for the defence of man's highest prerogative, intellectual liberty. His 'Reformation in England' and 'Reasons of Church Government,' are the most important theological treatises published during his life. They were his earliest prose compositions, and thrown off with much haste, and on these accounts are more chargeable with defects of style than any other of his writings. But these, with all their defects, abound in strong and elevated thought, and in power and felicity of expression. Their great blemish is an inequality of style, often springing from the conflict and opposition of the impulses under which he wrote. It is not uncommon to find in the same sentence his affluent genius pouring forth magnificent images and expressions, and suddenly his deep scorn for his opponents, suggesting and throwing into the midst of this splendour, sarcasms and degrading comparisons altogether at variance with the general strain. From this cause, and from negligence, many powerful passages in his prose writings are marred by an incongruous mixture of unworthy allusions and phrases.—In the close of his first work, that on 'Reformation in England', he breaks out into an invocation and prayer to the Supreme Being, from which we extract a passage containing a remarkable intimation of his having meditated some great poetical enterprise from his earliest years, and giving full promise of that grandeur of thought and language, which characterizes Paradise Lost. Having 'lifted up his hands to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants,' and besought God to perfect the work of civil and religious deliverance begun in England, he proceeds thus:

'Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, *some one may*

perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most christian people, at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles; and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in over-measure forever.'—Vol. I. pp. 58, 59.

We have not time to speak of Milton's political treatises. We close our brief remarks on his prose writings, with recommending them to all, who can enjoy great beauties in the neighbourhood of faults, and who would learn the compass, energy, and richness of our language; and still more do we recommend them to those, who desire to nourish in their breasts magnanimity of sentiment and an unquenchable love of freedom. They bear the impress of that seal, by which genius distinguishes its productions from works of learning and taste. The great and decisive test of genius is, that it calls forth *power* in the souls of others. It not merely gives knowledge, but breathes energy. There are authors, and among these Milton holds the highest rank, in approaching whom we are conscious of an access of intellectual strength. A 'virtue goes out' from them. We discern more clearly, not merely because a new light is thrown over objects, but because our own vision is strengthened. Sometimes a single word, spoken by the voice of genius, goes far into the heart. A hint, a suggestion, an undefined delicacy of expression, teaches more than we gather from volumes of less gifted men. The works which we should chiefly study, are not those which contain the greatest fund of knowledge, but which raise us into sympathy with the intellectual energy of the author, and in which a great mind multiplies itself, as it were, in the reader. Milton's prose works are imbued as really, if not as thoroughly, as his poetry, with this

quickening power, and they will richly reward those who are receptive of this influence.

We now leave the writings of Milton to offer a few remarks on his *moral* qualities. His moral character was as strongly marked as his intellectual, and it may be expressed in one word, *magnanimity*. It was in harmony with his poetry. He had a passionate love of the higher, more commanding, and majestic virtues, and fed his youthful mind with meditations on the perfection of a human being. In a letter written to an Italian friend before his thirtieth year, and translated by Hayley, we have this vivid picture of his aspirations after virtue.

'As to other points, what God may have determined for me I know not; but this *I* know, that if he ever instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the breast of any man, he has instilled it into mine. Ceres in the fable pursued not her daughter with a greater keenness of inquiry, than I day and night the idea of perfection. Hence, wherever I find a man despising the false estimates of the vulgar, and daring to aspire in sentiment, language and conduct, to what the highest wisdom, through every age, has taught us as most excellent; to him I unite myself by a sort of necessary attachment; and if I am so influenced by nature or destiny, that by no exertion or labours of my own I may exalt myself to this summit of worth and honour, yet no powers of heaven or earth will hinder me from looking with reverence and affection upon those, who have thoroughly attained this glory, or appeared engaged in the successful pursuit of it.'

His Comus was written in his twenty-sixth year; and on reading this exquisite work our admiration is awakened, not so much by observing how the whole spirit of poetry had descended on him at that early age, as by witnessing, how his whole youthful soul was penetrated, awed and lifted up by the austere charms, 'the radiant light,' the invincible power, the celestial peace of saintly virtue. He reverenced moral purity and elevation, not only for its own sake, but as the inspirer of intellect, and especially of the higher efforts of poetry. 'I was confirmed,' he says, in his usual noble style,

'I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing of high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.'—Vol. I. p. 224.

We learn from his works, that he used his multifarious reading to build up within himself this reverence for virtue. Ancient history, the sublime musings of Plato, and the heroic self-abandonment of chivalry, joined their influences with prophets and apostles, in binding him 'everlastingly in willing homage' to the great, the honourable, and the lovely in character. A remarkable passage to this effect we quote from his account of his youth.

'I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos, the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; *** So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of virtue.'—Ibid.

All Milton's habits were expressive of a refined and self-denying character. When charged by his unprincipled slanderers with licentious habits, he thus gives an account of his morning hours.

'Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught; then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the enforcement of a slavish life.' —Vol. I. p. 220

We have enlarged on the strictness and loftiness of Milton's virtue, not only from our interest in the subject, but that we may put to shame and silence those men who make genius an apology for vice, and take the sacred fire, kindled by God within them, to inflame men's passions, and to minister to a vile sensuality.

We see Milton's greatness of mind in his fervent and constant attachment to liberty. Freedom in all its forms and branches was dear to him, but especially freedom of thought and speech, of conscience and worship, freedom to seek, profess and propagate truth. The liberty of ordinary politicians, which protects men's outward rights, and removes restraints to the pursuit of property and outward good, fell very short of that, for which Milton lived and was ready to die. The tyranny which he hated most, was that which broke the intellectual and moral power of the community. The worst feature of the institutions which he assailed was, that they fettered the mind. He felt within himself, that the human mind had a principle of perpetual growth, that it was essentially diffusive and made for progress, and he wished every chain broken, that it might run the race of truth and virtue with increasing ardour and success. This attachment to a spiritual and refined freedom, which never forsook him in the hottest controversies, contributed greatly to protect his genius, imagination, taste, and sensibility from the withering and polluting influences of public station, and of the rage of parties. It threw a hue of poetry over politics, and gave a sublime reference to his service of the commonwealth. The fact that Milton, in that stormy day, and amidst the trials of public office, kept his high faculties undepraved, was a proof of no common greatness. Politics, however they make the intellect active, sagacious, and inventive, within a certain sphere, generally extinguish its thirst for universal truth, paralyse sentiment and imagination, corrupt the simplicity of the mind, destroy that confidence in human virtue, which lies at the foundation of philanthropy and generous sacrifices, and end in cold and prudent selfishness. Milton passed through a revolution, which, in its last stages and issue, was peculiarly fitted to damp enthusiasm, to scatter the visions of hope, and to infuse doubts of the reality of virtuous principle; and yet the ardour, and moral feeling, and enthusiasm of his youth came forth unhurt, and even exalted from the trial.

Before quitting the subject of Milton's devotion to liberty, it ought to be recorded, that he wrote his celebrated 'Defence of the People of England' after being distinctly forewarned by his physicians, that the effect of this exertion would be the utter loss of sight. His reference to this part of his history in a short poetical effusion is too characteristic to be withheld. It is inscribed to Cyriac Skinner, the friend to whom he appears to have confided his lately discovered 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine.'

'Cyriac, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light their seeing have forgot,
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heav'n's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overply'd
In liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask,
Content though blind, had I no better guide.'—*Sonnet* XXII.

We see Milton's magnanimity in the circumstances under which Paradise Lost was written. It was not in prosperity, in honour, and amidst triumphs, but in disappointment, desertion, and in what the world calls disgrace, that he composed that work. The cause, with which he had identified himself, had failed. His friends were scattered; liberty was trodden under foot; and her devoted champion was a by-word among the triumphant royalists. But it is the prerogative of true greatness to glorify itself in adversity, and to meditate and execute vast enterprises in defeat. Milton, fallen in outward condition, afflicted with blindness, disappointed in his best hopes, applied himself with characteristic energy to the sublimest achievement of intellect, solacing himself with great thoughts, with splendid creations, and with a prophetic confidence, that however neglected in his own age, he was framing in his works a bond of union and fellowship with the illustrious spirits of a brighter day. We delight to contemplate him in his retreat and last years. To the passing spectator, he seemed fallen and forsaken, and his blindness was reproached as a judgment from God. But though sightless, he lived in light. His inward eye ranged through universal nature, and his imagination shed on it brighter beams than the sun. Heaven, and Hell, and Paradise were open to him. He visited past ages, and gathered round him ancient sages and heroes, prophets and apostles, brave knights and gifted bards. As he looked forward, ages of liberty dawned and rose to his view, and he felt, that he was about to bequeath to them an inheritance of genius 'which would not fade away,' and was to live in the memory, reverence and love of remotest generations.

We have enlarged on Milton's character not only from the pleasure of paying that sacred debt, which the mind owes to him who has quickened and delighted it, but from an apprehension that Milton has not yet reaped his due harvest of esteem and veneration. The mists, which the prejudices and bigotry of Johnson spread over his bright name, are not yet wholly scattered, though fast passing away. We wish not to disparage Johnson. We could find no pleasure in sacrificing one great man to the manes of another. But we owe it to Milton and to other illustrious names to say, that Johnson has failed of the highest end of biography, which is to give immortality to virtue, and to call forth fervent admiration towards those who have shed splendour on past ages. We acquit Johnson, however, of intentional misrepresentation. He did not and could not appreciate Milton. We doubt whether two other minds, having so little in common as those of which we are now speaking, can be found in the higher walks of literature. Johnson was great in his own sphere, but that sphere was comparatively 'of the earth;' whilst Milton's was only inferior to that of angels. It was customary in the day of Johnson's glory to call him a Giant, to class him with a mighty but still an earth-born race. Milton we should rank among Seraphs. Johnson's mind acted chiefly on man's actual condition, on the realities of life, on the springs of human action, on the passions which now agitate society, and he seems hardly to have dreamed of a higher state of the human mind than was then exhibited. Milton, on the other hand, burned with a deep yet calm love of moral grandeur and celestial purity. He thought not so much of what man is, as of what he might become. His own mind was a revelation to him of a higher condition of humanity, and to promote this he thirsted and toiled for freedom, as the element for the growth and improvement of his nature.—In religion Johnson was gloomy and inclined to superstition, and on the subject of government leaned towards absolute power; and the idea of reforming either never entered his mind but to disturb and provoke it. The church and the civil polity under which he lived seemed to him perfect, unless he may have thought that the former would be improved by a larger infusion of Romish rites and doctrines, and the latter by an enlargement of the royal prerogative. Hence a tame acquiescence in the present forms of religion and government marks his works. Hence we find so little in his writings, which is

electric and soul-kindling, and which gives the reader a consciousness of being made for a state of loftier thought and feeling than the present. Milton's whole soul, on the contrary, revolted against the maxims of legitimacy, hereditary faith, and servile reverence for established power. He could not brook the bondage to which men had bowed for ages. 'Reformation' was the first word of public warning which broke from his youthful lips, and the hope of it was a fire in his aged breast. The difference between Milton and Johnson may be traced not only in these great features of mind, but in their whole characters. Milton was refined and spiritual in his habits, temperate almost to abstemiousness, and refreshed himself after intellectual effort by music. Johnson inclined to more sensual delights. Milton was exquisitely alive to the outward creation, to sounds, motions, and forms, to natural beauty and grandeur. Johnson, through defect of physical organization, if not through deeper deficiency, had little susceptibility of these pure and delicate pleasures, and would not have exchanged the Strand for the vale of Tempe or the gardens of the Hesperides. How could Johnson be just to Milton! The comparison, which we have instituted, has compelled us to notice Johnson's defects. But we trust we are not blind to his merits. His stately march, his pomp and power of language, his strength of thought, his reverence for virtue and religion, his vigorous logic, his practical wisdom, his insight into the springs of human action, and the solemn pathos which occasionally pervades his descriptions of life and his references to his own history, command our willing admiration. That he wanted enthusiasm, and creative imagination, and lofty sentiment, was not his fault. We do not blame him for not being Milton. We love intellectual power in all its forms, and delight in the variety of mind. We blame him only, that his passions, prejudices, and bigotry engaged him in the unworthy task of obscuring the brighter glory of one of the most gifted and virtuous men. We would even treat what we deem the faults of Johnson with a tenderness approaching respect; for they were results, to a degree which man cannot estimate, of a diseased, irritable, nervous, unhappy physical temperament, and belonged to the body more than to the mind. We only ask the friends of genius not to put their faith in Johnson's delineations of it. His biographical works are tinged with his notoriously strong prejudices, and of all his 'Lives,' we hold that of Milton to be the most apocryphal.

We here close our general remarks on Milton's intellectual and moral qualities. We venerate him as a man of genius; but still more as a man of magnanimity and Christian virtue, who regarded genius and poetry as sacred gifts, imparted to him not to amuse men, or to build up a reputation, but that he might quicken and call forth what was great and divine in his fellow-creatures, and might secure the only true fame, the admiration of minds which his writings were to kindle and exalt.

We come now to the examination of the newly discovered 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine.' This work, we have said, owes its chief interest to the character of its author. From its very nature, it cannot engage and fix general attention. It consists very much of collections of texts of scripture, which, however exciting in their proper places, are read with little thought or emotion when taken from their ordinary connexion, and marshalled under systematic heads. Milton aims to give us the doctrines of revelation in its own words. We have them in a phraseology long familiar to us; and we are disappointed; for we expected to see them, not in the language of the Bible, but as existing in the mind of Milton, modified by his peculiar intellect and sensibility, combined and embodied with his various knowledge, illustrated by the analogies, brightened by the new lights, and clothed with the associations with which they were surrounded by this gifted man. We hoped to see these doctrines as they were viewed by Milton in his moments of solemn feeling and deep contemplation, when they pervaded and moved his whole soul. Still there are passages in which Milton's mind is laid open to us. We refer to the parts of the work, where the peculiarity of his opinions obliges him to state his reasons for adopting them; and these we value highly, for the vigour and independence of intellect with which they are impressed. The work is plain and unambitious in style. Its characteristics are a calm earnestness, and that profound veneration for scripture, which certain denominations of Christians, who have little congeniality with Milton, seem to claim as a monopoly.

His introduction is worthy every man's attention, as a deliberate, mild assertion of the dearest right of human nature, that of free inquiry.

'If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with

a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light, which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth, not to cry out that the church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry, which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered *to prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the church, than of illumination and edification.'—Vol. I. pp. 5, 6.

'It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the christian religion is the liberty, not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine, but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion; an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel—force alone prevails,—by which it is disgraceful for the christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still enslaved, not indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny.'—Vol. I. pp. 7, 8.

On that great subject, the character of God, Milton has given nothing particularly worthy of notice, except that he is more disposed than Christians in general, to conceive of the Supreme Being under the forms and affections of human nature.

'If God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness, when viewed in reference to ourselves, be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God.'—Vol. I. p. 23.

Milton is not the first Christian, who has thought to render the Supreme Being more interesting by giving him human shape. We doubt the wisdom of this expedient. To spiritualize our conceptions of him, seems to us the true process for strengthening our intimacy with him; for in this way only can we think of him as immediately present to our minds. As far as we give him a material form, we must assign to him a place, and that place will almost necessarily be a distant one, and thus we shall remove him from the soul which is his true temple. Besides, a definite form clashes with God's infinity, which is his supreme distinction, and on no account to be obscured; for strange as it may seem to those who know not their own nature, this incomprehensible attribute, is that, which above all things con-

stitutes the correspondence or adaptation, if we may so speak, of God to the human mind.

In treating of God's Efficiency, Milton strenuously maintains human freedom, in opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. He maintains, that God's decrees do not encroach on moral liberty; for our free agency is the very object decreed and predestined by the Creator. He maintains that some of the passages of scripture, which speak of election, are to be understood of an election to outward privileges, not to everlasting life; and that in other texts, which relate to the future state, the election spoken of is not an arbitrary choice of individuals, but of that class or description of persons, be it large or small, who shall comply with the prescribed terms of salvation; in other words, it is a conditional, not an absolute election, and such that every individual, if he will, may be included in it. Milton has so far told us truth. We wish we could add, that he had thrown new light on free agency. This great subject has indeed baffled as yet the deepest thinkers, and seems now to be consigned with other sublime topics, under the sweeping denomination of metaphysics, to general neglect. But let it not be given up in despair. The time is coming, when the human intellect is to strike into new fields, and to view itself, and its Creator, and the universe from new positions, and we trust that the darkness which has so long hung over our moral nature will be gradually dispersed. This attribute of free agency, through which an intelligent being is strictly and properly a cause, an agent, an originator of moral good or moral evil, and not a mere machine, determined by outward influences or by a secret yet resistless efficiency of God, which virtually makes Him the author and only author of all human actions,—this moral freedom, which is the best image of the creative energy of the Deity, seems to us the noblest object of philosophical investigation. However questioned and darkened by a host of metaphysicians, it is recognised in the common consciousness of every human being. It is the ground of responsibility, the fountain of moral feeling. It is involved in all moral judgments and affections, and thus gives to social life its whole interest; whilst it is the chief tie between the soul and its Creator. The fact, that philosophers have attempted to discard free agency from their explanations of moral phænomena, and to subject all human action to necessity, to mechanical causes, or other extraneous influences, is proof enough, that the science of the

mind has as yet penetrated little beneath the surface, that the depths of the soul are still unexplored.

Milton naturally passes from his chapter on the Supreme Being to the consideration of those topics, which have always been connected with this part of theology; we mean, the character of Jesus Christ, and the nature of the Holy Spirit. All our readers are probably aware that Milton has here declared himself an antitrinitarian, and strenuously asserted the strict and proper unity of God. His chapter on 'The Son of God' is the most elaborate one in the work. His 'prefatory remarks' are highly interesting, as joining with a manly assertion of his right, an affectionate desire to conciliate the Christians from whom he differed.

'I cannot enter upon subjects of so much difficulty as the *Son of God* and the *Holy Spirit*, without again premising a few introductory words. If indeed I were a member of the Church of Rome, which requires implicit obedience to its creed on all points of faith, I should have acquiesced from education or habit in its simple decree and authority, even though it denies that the doctrine of the trinity, as now received, is capable of being proved from any passage of Scripture. But since I enrol myself among the number of those who acknowledge the word of God alone as the rule of faith, and freely advance what appears to me much more clearly deducible from the Holy Scriptures than the commonly received opinion, I see no reason why any one who belongs to the same Protestant or Reformed Church, and professes to acknowledge the same rule of faith as myself, should take offence at my freedom, particularly as I impose my authority on no one, but merely propose what I think more worthy of belief than the creed in general acceptation. I only entreat that my readers will ponder and examine my statements in a spirit which desires to discover nothing but the truth, and with a mind free from prejudice. For without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretations as often as the occasion requires, conformably to my right or rather to my duty as a man. If indeed those with whom I have to contend were able to produce direct attestation from heaven to the truth of the doctrine which they espouse, it would be nothing less than impiety to venture to raise, I do not say a clamour, but so much as a murmur against it. But inasmuch as they can lay claim to nothing more than human powers, assisted by that spiritual illumination which is common to all, it is not unreasonable that they should on their part allow the privileges of diligent research and free discussion to another inquirer, who is seeking truth through the same means and in the same way as themselves, and whose desire of benefiting mankind is equal to their own.'—Vol. I. pp. 103, 104, 105.

Milton teaches, that the Son of God is a distinct being from God, and inferior to him, that he existed before the world was made, that he is the first of the creation of God, and that afterwards, all other things were made by him, as the instrument or minister of his Father. He maintains, in agreement with Dr. Clarke, that the Holy Spirit is a person, an intelligent agent, but created and inferior to God. This opinion of Milton is the more remarkable, because he admits, that before the time of Christ, the Jews, though accustomed to the phrase, Holy Spirit, never attached to it the idea of personality, and that both in the Old and the New Testament, it is often used to express God himself or his power and agency. It is strange, that after these concessions, he could have found a difficulty in giving a figurative interpretation to the few passages in the New Testament, which speak of the Holy Spirit as a person.

We are unable within our limits to give a sketch of Milton's strong reasoning against the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ. We must, however, pause a moment to thank God that he has raised up this illustrious advocate of the long obscured doctrine of the Divine Unity. We can now bring forward the three greatest and noblest minds of modern times, and we may add of the christian era, as witnesses to that Great Truth, of which in an humbler and narrower sphere, we desire to be the defenders. Our Trinitarian adversaries are perpetually ringing in our ears the names of Fathers and Reformers. We take Milton, Locke and Newton, and place them in our front, and want no others to oppose to the whole array of great names on the opposite side. Before these intellectual suns, the stars of self-named orthodoxy 'hide their diminished heads.' To these eminent men, God communicated such unusual measures of light and mental energy, that their names spring up spontaneously, when we think or would speak of the greatness of our nature. Their theological opinions were the fruits of patient, profound, reverent study of the Scriptures. They came to this work, with minds not narrowed by a technical, professional education, but accustomed to broad views, to the widest range of thought. They were shackled by no party connexions. They were warped by no clerical ambition, and subdued by no clerical timidity. They came to this subject in the fulness of their strength, with free minds open to truth, and with unstained purity of life. They came to it, in an age, when the doctrine of the Trinity was instilled by education, and upheld by the authority of the church, and by penal laws. And what did these

great and good men, whose intellectual energy and love of truth have made them the chief benefactors of the human mind, what, we ask, did they discover in the Scriptures? a triple divinity? three infinite agents? three infinite objects of worship? three persons, each of whom possesses his own distinct offices, and yet shares equally in the godhead with the rest? No! Scripture joined with nature and with that secret voice in the heart, which even idolatry could not always stifle, and taught them to bow reverently before the One Infinite Father, and to ascribe to Him alone supreme, self-existent Divinity.—Our principal object in these remarks has been to show, that as far as great names are arguments, the cause of anti-trinitarianism, or of God's proper Unity, is supported by the strongest. But we owe it to truth to say, that we put little trust in these fashionable proofs. The chief use of great names in religious controversy is to balance and neutralize one another, that the unawed and unfettered mind may think and judge with a due self-reverence, and with a solemn sense of accountableness to God alone.

We have called Milton an anti-trinitarian. But we have no desire to identify him with any sect. His mind was too independent and universal to narrow itself to human creeds and parties. He is supposed to have separated himself in his last years from all the denominations around him; and were he now living, we are not sure that he would find one to which he would be strongly attracted. He would probably stand first among that class of Christians, more numerous than is supposed, and, we hope, increasing, who are too jealous of the rights of the mind, and too dissatisfied with the clashing systems of the age, to attach themselves closely to any party; in whom the present improved state of theology has created a consciousness of defect, rather than the triumph of acquisition; who however partial to their own creed, cannot persuade themselves, that it is the ultimate attainment of the human mind, and that distant ages will repeat its articles as reverently as the Catholics do the decrees of Trent; who contend earnestly for free inquiry, not because all who inquire will think as they do, but because some at least may be expected to outstrip them, and to be guides to higher truth. With this nameless and spreading class, we have strong sympathies. We want new light, and care not whence it comes; we want reformers worthy of the name; and we should rejoice in such a manifestation of Christianity, as would throw all present systems into obscurity.

We come now to a topic, on which Milton will probably

startle a majority of readers. He is totally opposed, as were most of the ancient philosophers, to the doctrine of God's creating the universe out of nothing. He maintains, that there can be no action without a passive material on which the act is exerted, and that accordingly the world was framed out of a pre-existent matter. To the question, what and whence is this primary matter? he answers, it is from God, 'an efflux of the Deity.' 'It proceeded from God,' and consequently no additional existence was produced by creation, nor is matter capable of annihilation. A specimen of his speculations on this subject is given in the following quotation.

'It is clear then that the world was framed out of matter of some kind or other. For since action and passion are relative terms, and since, consequently, no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter, it appears impossible that God could have created this world out of nothing; not from any defect of power on his part, but because it was necessary that something should have previously existed capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy. Since, therefore, both Scripture and reason concur in pronouncing that all these things were made, not out of nothing, but out of matter, it necessarily follows, that matter must either have always existed independently of God, or have originated from God at some particular point of time. That matter should have been always independent of God, (seeing that it is only a passive principle, dependent on the Deity, and subservient to him; and seeing, moreover, that as in number, considered abstractly, so also in time or eternity there is no inherent force or efficacy,) that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If on the contrary it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God.'—Vol. I. pp. 236, 237.

This doctrine naturally led Milton to another, viz. that there is no ground for the supposed distinction between body and soul; for if matter is an 'efflux of the Deity,' it is plainly susceptible of intellectual functions. Accordingly our author affirms,

'That man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not, compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body,—but the whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body, or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational.'—Vol. I. pp. 250, 251.

We here learn that a passage in Paradise Lost, which we have admired as poetry, was deemed by Milton sound philosophy.

> 'O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to him return,
> If not deprav'd from good, created all
> Such to perfection, *one first matter all,*
> Indued with various forms, various degrees
> Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
> But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
> As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending
> Each in their several active spheres assign'd,
> *Till body up to spirit work,* in bounds
> Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
> More aery, last the bright consummate flower
> Spirits odorous breathes; flow'rs and their fruit,
> Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,
> To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
> To *intellectual.* Par. Lost, b. v. lines 469—485.

These speculations of Milton will be received in this age with more favour or with less aversion, than in his own; for, from the time of Locke, the discussions of philosophers have tended to unsettle our notions of matter, and no man is hardy enough now to say, what it is, or what it may not be. The idealism of Berkeley, though it has never organized a sect, has yet sensibly influenced the modes of thinking among metaphysicians; and the coincidence of this system with the theory of certain Hindoo philosophers, may lead us to suspect, that it contains some great latent truth, of which the European and Hindoo intellect, so generally at variance, have caught a glimpse. Matter is indeed a Proteus, which escapes us at the moment we hope to seize it. Priestley was anxious to make the soul material; but for this purpose, he was obliged to change matter from a substance into a power, that is, into no matter at all; so that he destroyed, in attempting to diffuse it. We have thrown out these remarks, to rescue Milton's memory from the imputation, which he was the last man to deserve, of irreverence towards God; for of this some will deem him guilty in tracing matter to the Deity as its fountain. Matter, which seems to common people so intelligible, is still wrapt in mystery. We know it only by its relation to mind, or as an assemblage of powers to awaken certain sensations. Of its rela-

tion to God, we may be said to know nothing. Perhaps, as knowledge advances, we shall discover that the Creator is bound to his works by stronger and more intimate ties, than we now imagine. We do not then quarrel with such suggestions as Milton's, though we cannot but wonder at the earnestness with which he follows out such doubtful speculations.

Milton next proceeds to the consideration of man's state in Paradise, and as marriage was the only social relation then subsisting, he introduces here his views of that institution, and of polygamy, and divorce. These views show, if not the soundness, yet the characteristic independence of his mind. No part of his book has given such offence as his doctrine of the lawfulness of polygamy, and yet no where is he less liable to reproach. It is plain that his error was founded on his reverence for Scripture. He saw that polygamy was allowed to the best men in the Old Testament, to patriarchs before the law, who, he says, were the objects of God's special favour, and to eminent individuals in subsequent ages; and finding no prohibition of it in the New Testament, he believed, that not only holy men would be traduced, but Scripture dishonoured, by pronouncing it morally evil. We are aware that some will say, that the practice *is* condemned in the New Testament; and we grant that it is censured by implication in these words of Christ, 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.'* But we believe it to be an indisputable fact, that although Christianity was first preached in Asia, which had been from the earliest ages the seat of polygamy, the Apostles never denounced it as a crime, and never required their converts to put away all wives but one. What then? some may say, 'are you too the advocates of the lawfulness of polygamy?' We answer, No. We consider our religion as decidedly hostile to this practice; and we add, what seems to us of great importance, that this hostility is not the less decided, because no express prohibition of polygamy is found in the New Testament; for Christianity is not a system of precise legislation, marking out with literal exactness every thing to be done, and every thing to be avoided; but an inculcation of broad principles, which it entrusts to individuals and to society to be applied according to their best discretion. It is through this generous peculiarity, that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion. Through this, it can subsist and blend itself with all stages of society, and can

* Matt. xix. 9.

live in the midst of abuses, which it silently and powerfully overcomes, but against which it would avail little, were it immediately to lift up the voice of denunciation. We all know, that long cherished corruptions, which have sent their roots through the whole frame of a community, cannot be torn up at once, without dissolving society. To Christianity is committed the sublime office of eradicating all the errors and evils of the world; but this it does by a process corresponding with man's nature, by working a gradual revolution in the mind, which in its turn works a safe and effectual revolution in manners and life. No argument, therefore, in favour of a practice can be adduced from the fact, that it is not explicitly reprobated in the New Testament. For example, Christianity went forth into communities, where multitudes were held in slavery, and all ranks were ground and oppressed by despotism; abuses on which the spirit of our religion frowns as sternly as on any which can be named. Yet Christianity did not command the master to free his slaves, or the despot to descend from his absolute throne; but satisfied itself with proclaiming sublime truths in regard to God's paternal character and administration, and broad and generous principles of action; leaving to these the work of breaking every chain by a gradual, inward, irresistible influence, and of asserting the essential equality and unalienable rights of the whole human race.—We cannot leave this topic, without adding, that not only Milton's error on polygamy, but many other noxious mistakes, have resulted from measuring Christianity by the condition of the primitive church, as if *that* were the standard of faith and practice, as if every thing allowed then were wise and good, as if the religion were then unfolded in all its power and extent. The truth is, that Christianity was then in its infancy. The Apostles communicated its great truths to the rude minds of Jews and Heathens; but the primitive church did not and could not understand all that was involved in those principles, all the applications of which they are susceptible, all the influences they were to exert on the human mind, all the combinations they were to form with the new truths which time was to unfold, all the new lights in which they were to be placed, all the adaptations to human nature and to more advanced states of society, which they were progressively to manifest. In the first age the religion was administered with a wise and merciful conformity to the capacities of its recipients. With the progress of intelligence, and the developement of the moral faculties, Christianity is freeing itself, and ought to be freed, from the

local, temporary and accidental associations of its childhood. Its great principles are coming forth more distinctly and brightly, and condemning abuses and errors, which have passed current for ages. This great truth, for such we deem it, that Christianity is a growing light, and that it must be more or less expounded by every age for itself, was not sufficiently apprehended by Milton; nor is it now understood as it will be. For want of apprehending it, Christianity is administered now too much as it was in ages, when nothing of our literature, philosophy, and spirit of improvement existed; and consequently it does not, we fear, exert that entire and supreme sway over strong and cultivated minds which is its due, and which it must one day obtain.

Milton has connected with polygamy the subject of divorce, on which he is known to have differed from many Christians. He strenuously maintains in the work under review, and more largely in other treatises, that the violation of the marriage bed is not the sole ground of divorce, but that 'the perpetual interruption of peace and affection by mutual differences and unkindness is a sufficient reason,' for dissolving the conjugal relation. On this topic we cannot enlarge.

We now arrive at that part of Milton's work, in which his powerful mind might have been expected to look beyond the prevalent opinions of his day, but in which he has followed the beaten road almost without deviation, seldom noticing difficulties, and hardly seeming to know their existence. We refer to the great subjects of the moral condition of mankind, and of redemption by Jesus Christ. The doctrine of original sin he has assumed as true, and his faith in it was evidently strengthened by his doctrine of the identity of the soul with the body, in consequence of which he teaches, that souls are propagated from parents to children, and not immediately derived from God, and that they are born with an hereditary taint, just as the body contracts hereditary disease. It is humiliating to add, that he supports this doctrine of the propagation of sin by physical contagion, on the ground, that it relieves the Creator from the charge of originating the corruption which we are said to bring into life; as if the infinitely pure and good God could, by a covert agency, infect with moral evil the passive and powerless mind of the infant, and then absolve himself of the horrible work by imputing it to instruments of his own ordination! Milton does not, however, believe in total depravity, feeling that this would free men from guilt, by taking away all power; and he therefore leaves us a portion of the di-

vine image, not enough to give us a chance of virtue, but enough to take away excuse from sin. Such are the 'tender mercies' of theology! With respect to Christ's mediation, he supposes, that Christ saves us by bearing our punishment and in this way satisfying God's justice. His views indeed are not expressed with much precision, and seem to have been formed without much investigation. On these great subjects, of human nature and redemption, we confess, we are disappointed in finding the spirit of Milton satisfying itself with the degrading notions which prevailed around him. But we remember, that it is the order of Providence, that the greatest minds should sympathize much with their age, and that they contribute the more to the progress of mankind, by not advancing too fast and too far beyond their cotemporaries. In this part of his work, Milton maintains, that the death threatened to sin extends equally to body and soul, which indeed he was bound to do, as he holds the soul and body to be one; and he then proceeds to defend with his usual power the necessary inference, that all consciousness is suspended between death and the resurrection. We have no faith in this doctrine, but we respect the courage with which he admits and maintains whatever can be fairly deduced from his opinions.

Having concluded the subject of redemption, he passes to what he calls 'man's renovation, or the change whereby the sinner is brought into a state of grace;' and here, though he is not always perspicuous, yet he seldom deviates from what was then the beaten road. We owe it, however, to Milton, to say, that, although he sometimes approached, he never adopted Calvinism. All the distinguishing articles of that creed, total depravity, election and reprobation, Christ dying for the elect only, irresistible grace, the perseverance of the saints, and justification by mere faith, all are denied and opposed by him, and some with great strength. Swayed as Milton was by the age in which he lived, his spirit could not be subdued to the heart-withering faith of the Genevan school.

We now come to a subject, in which Milton was deeply interested, we mean Christian Liberty, under which head may be included the discipline of the church, the power of ministers, and the rights of the people. To vindicate the liberty of Christians, and to secure them from all outward impositions and ordinances, he maintains that the whole Mosaic law is abolished, so that no part is binding on Christians; a doctrine which may startle many who believe that the moral precepts of that law

are as binding now as ever. But such persons differ little in reality from Milton, whose true meaning is, that these precepts bind Christians, not through the authority of Moses, which is wholly done away, but only because they are taken up and incorporated into Christianity, which is our only law, and which has set forth whatever was permanently valuable in Judaism in a more perfect form, and with more powerful sanctions.

As another branch of the Liberty of Christians, he maintains, as we may well suppose, the right of every believer to consult the Scriptures and to judge of them for himself. Not satisfied with this, he takes the ground of Quakerism, and maintains that the Christian, in addition to the Scriptures, has an inward guide, with which no human authority should interfere.

'Under the Gospel we possess, as it were, a twofold scripture, one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise of God, and with the intent that it should by no means be neglected.' Vol. II. p. 172. 'The external scripture * * * has been liable to frequent corruption, and in some instances has been corrupted, through the number, and occasionally the bad faith of those by whom it has been handed down, the variety and discrepancy of the original manuscripts, and the additional diversity produced by subsequent transcripts and printed editions. But the Spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual.' p. 173. 'It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in committing the writings of the New Testament to such uncertain and variable guardianship, unless it were to teach us by this very circumstance, that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom, therefore, it is our duty to follow.' p. 174. 'Hence it follows, that when an acquiescence in human opinions or an obedience to human authority in matters of religion is exacted, in the name either of the church or of the christian magistrate, from those who are themselves led individually by the Spirit of God, this is in effect to impose a yoke, not on man, but on the Holy Spirit itself.' p. 176.

This, in words, is genuine Quakerism; but whether Milton understood by the Holy Spirit that *immediate* revelation, which forms the leading doctrine of that creed, we doubt. To this doctrine it may be objected, and we think Milton must have felt the objection, that it disparages and discourages our faculties, and produces inaction of mind, leading men to expect from a sudden flash from heaven the truth, which we are taught to seek by the right use of our own powers. We imagine, that

Milton believed that the Holy Spirit works with and by our own understandings, and, instead of superseding reason, invigorates and extends it. But this is not the only place, where his precise views are obscured by general expressions, or by rapid and superficial notices of subjects.

In Milton's views of the church and the ministry, we have other proofs of his construing the Scriptures in the manner most favourable to Christian Liberty. He teaches that the universal Church has no head but Christ, and that the power arrogated by popes, councils, and bishops, is gross usurpation. In regard to particular churches he is a strict congregationalist. Each church, he says, is competent to its own government, and connected with others only by the bond of charity. No others are authorized to interfere with any of its concerns, but in the way of brotherly counsel.

'Every church consisting of the above parts,' (i. e. well instructed believers,) 'however small its numbers, is to be considered as in itself an integral and perfect church, so far as regards its religious rights; nor has it any superior on earth, whether individual, or assembly, or convention, to whom it can be lawfully required to render submission; inasmuch as no believer out of its pale, nor any order or council of men whatever, has a greater right than itself to expect a participation in the written word and the promises, in the presence of Christ, in the presiding influence of the Spirit, and in those gracious gifts which are the reward of united prayer.'—Vol. II. p. 193.

The choice of the minister, he says, belongs to the people. The minister, if possible, should serve the church gratuitously, and live by the labour of his own hands. This unpaid service he pronounces more noble and consonant to our Lord's example and that of the Apostles. In accordance with these views, he favours the idea of a church consisting of few members.

'All that pertains to the worship of God and the salvation of believers, all, in short, that is necessary to constitute a church, may be duly and orderly transacted in a particular church, within the walls of a private house, and where the numbers assembled are inconsiderable. Nay, such a church, when in compliance with the interested views of its pastor it allows of an increase of numbers beyond what is convenient, deprives itself in a great measure of the advantages to be derived from meeting in common.'—Vol. II. p. 194.

He maintains that ministers are not to monopolize public instruction, or the administration of the ordinances; but that all Christians, having sufficient gifts, are to participate in these services.

'The custom of holding assemblies is to be maintained, not after the present mode, but according to the apostolical institution, which did not ordain that an individual, and he a stipendiary, should have the sole right of speaking from a higher place, but that each believer in turn should be authorized to speak, or prophecy, or teach, or exhort, according to his gifts; insomuch that even the weakest among the brethren had the privilege of asking questions, and consulting the elders and more experienced members of the congregation.' Vol. II. p. 203. 'Any believer is competent to act as an *ordinary minister*, according as convenience may require, provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts; these gifts constituting his mission.' p. 153. 'If therefore it be competent to any believer whatever to preach the gospel, provided he be furnished with the requisite gifts, it is also competent to him to administer the right of baptism; inasmuch as the latter office is inferior to the former.' p. 157. 'With regard to the Lord's supper also, it has been shown, in the preceding chapter, that all are entitled to participate in that rite, but that the privilege of dispensing the elements is confined to no particular man, or order of men.' p. 158.

We entirely accord with the spirit of freedom which these passages breathe; but from some of the particular views we dissent. The great error of Milton lies in supposing that the primitive church was meant to be a model for all ages. But can we suppose, that the church at its birth, when it was poor, persecuted, hemmed in by Judaism and Heathenism, supplied imperfectly with written rules and records, dependent for instruction chiefly on inspired teachers, and composed of converts who had grown up and been steeped in Jewish and Heathen errors,—can we imagine, that in these circumstances the church took a form which it ought to retain as sacred and unalterable, in its triumphs, and prosperity, and diffusion, and in ages of greater light and refinement? We know that in the first ages there were no ministers with salaries, or edifices for public worship. Christians met in private houses, and sometimes in the obscurest they could find. On these occasions, the services were not monopolized by an individual, but shared by the fraternity; nor is there a hint in the New Testament that the administration of the Lord's Supper and Baptism was confined to the minister. But in all this we have no rule for the present day. Indeed it seems to us utterly repugnant to the idea of a universal religion, intended for all ages and nations, and for all the progressive states of society to the end of the world, to suppose that in its infancy it established an order of worship, instruction and discipline, which was to re-

main inviolable in all future times. This doctrine of an inflexible form, seems to us servile, superstitious and disparaging to Christianity. Our religion is too spiritual and inward, and cares too little about its exterior, to bind itself in this everlasting chain. The acknowledged indefiniteness of the New Testament in regard to this subject, is no mean proof of the enlarged and prospective wisdom of its founder. We believe, that with the diffusion of liberal views, the question will arise, whether our religion cannot be taught and administered in methods and forms more adapted, than those which now prevail, to its spirit and great design, to the principles of human nature, and to the condition and wants of society. Among the changes which may grow from this discussion, we do not anticipate the adoption of Milton's plan of sentencing ministers to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; for we think that we see reasons in the general spread of knowledge, for enlarging their means and opportunities of study and intellectual culture, that they may meet the increasing demand for more enlightened inculcation of Christian truth. At the same time, it seems to us not unlikely, that, in conformity to Milton's suggestion, public instruction, instead of continuing to be a monopoly of ministers, may be extended freely to men of superior intelligence and piety, and that the results of this arrangement may be, the infusion of new life, power, and practical wisdom into religious teaching, and the substitution of a more natural, free and various eloquence for the technical and monotonous mode of treating subjects, which clings so often and so obstinately to the performances of the pulpit.—Again, we do not expect, among the changes of forms and outward worship, that Christians, to meet our author's views, will shut their churches and meet in private houses; for large religious edifices, and large congregations seem to us among the important means of collecting and interesting in Christianity the mass of the community. But perhaps narrower associations for religious improvement may be formed, in which the formalities of public worship will be relaxed, and Christians may reap the benefits of the more familiar and confidential meetings of the primitive converts. It is indeed a great question, how the public administration of Christianity, including modes of discipline, instruction and worship, may be rendered more impressive and effectual. This field is almost untrodden; but if we read aright the signs of the times, the day for exploring it draws nigh.

We have said that whilst we dissent from some of Milton's

views on the subject of our present remarks, we agree in their spirit. It was evidently the aim of all his suggestions to strip the clergy, as they are called, of that peculiar, artificial sanctity, with which superstition had long arrayed them, and which had made their simple, benignant office one of the worst instruments of ambition and despotism. We believe that this institution will never exert its true and full power on the church and on the world, until the childish awe, with which it has been viewed, shall be exchanged for enlightened esteem; and until men, instead of expecting from it certain mysterious, undefined influences, shall see in it a rational provision for conveying important truth, and for promoting virtue and happiness, not by magic, but according to the fixed laws of human nature.

The remainder of the 'Treatise on Christian Doctrine' furnishes topics on which we should willingly remark; but we have only time to glance at the opinions in which Milton differs from the majority. He rejects infant baptism, and argues against it with his usual earnestness and strength. He not only affirms with many other Christians, that the fourth commandment relating to the Sabbath is abolished with the rest of the Mosaic system, but maintains, what few have done, that under the Gospel no time is appointed for public worship, but that the observance of the first day of the week rests wholly on expediency, and on the agreement of Christians. He believes, that Christ is to appear visibly for the judgment of the world, and that he will reign a thousand years on earth, at the end of which period Satan will assail the church with an innumerable confederacy, and be overwhelmed with everlasting ruin. He speaks of the judgment as beginning with Christ's second advent, and as comprehending his whole government through the millenium, as well as the closing scene, when sentence will be pronounced on evil angels, and on the whole human race.—We have now given, we believe, all the peculiarities of Milton's faith. As for that large part of his work, in which he has accumulated scriptural proofs of doctrines and duties in which all Christians are agreed, its general tenour may be understood without further remarks.

It may now be asked, what is the value of this book? We prize it chiefly as a testimony to Milton's profound reverence for the christian religion, and an assertion of the freedom and rights of the mind. We are obliged to say, that the work throws little new light on the great subjects of which it treats.

Some will say, that this ought not to surprise us; for new light is not to be looked for in the department of theology. But if this be true, our religion may be charged with the want of adaptation to our nature in an essential point; for one of the most striking features of the human mind is its thirst for constantly enlarging knowledge, and its proneness to lose its interest in subjects which it has exhausted. The chief cause of Milton's failure was, that he sought truth too exclusively in the past, and among the dead. He indeed called no man master, and disclaimed the authority of Fathers, and was evidently dissatisfied with all the sects which had preceded or were spread around him. Still he believed in the perfection of the primitive church, and that Christianity, instead of being carried forward, was to be carried *back* to its original purity. To use his own striking language, 'the lovely form of truth,' which Christians at first embraced, 'had been hewn into a thousand pieces, like the mangled body of Osiris, and scattered to the four winds;' and consequently he believed, that the great duty of her friends was 'to gather up limb by limb, and bring together every joint and member.' In conformity with this doctrine, he acted too much as an eclectic theologian, culling something from almost every sect, and endeavouring to form an harmonious system from materials 'gathered from the four winds.' He would have done better, had he sought truth less in other minds, and more in the communion of his own soul with Scripture, nature, God, and itself. The fact is, that the church, from its beginning, has been imperfect in knowledge and practice, and our business is, not to rest in the past, but to use it as a means of a purer and brighter futurity. Christianity began to be corrupted at its birth, to be debased by earthly mixtures, as soon as it touched the earth. The seeds of that corruption which grew and shot up into the overshadowing despotism of papal Rome, were sown in the age of the Apostles, as we learn in the Epistles; and we infer from the condition of the world, that nothing but a stupendous moral miracle, subverting all the laws of the human mind, could have prevented their developement. Who, that understands human nature, does not know, that old associations are not broken up in a moment; that to minds, plunged in a midnight of error, truth must gradually open like the dawning day; that old views will mingle with the new; that old ideas, which we wish to banish, will adhere to the old

words to which they were formerly attached; and that the sudden and entire eradication of long-rooted errors would be equivalent to the creation of a new intellect? How long did the Apostles, under Christ's immediate tuition, withstand his instructions? Even Peter, after the miraculous illumination of the day of Pentecost, remained ignorant, until the message from Cornelius, of that glorious feature of Christianity, the abolition of the Jewish peculiarity, and the equal participation of the Gentiles with the Jews in the blessings of the Messiah. As soon as Christianity was preached, it was blended with Judaism, which had power to neutralize the authority of Paul in many churches. In like manner, it soon began to be 'spoiled' of its simplicity 'by philosophy and science falsely so called,' and to be encumbered by pagan ceremonies. The first Christians were indeed brought into 'wonderful light,' if their christian state be compared with the darkness from which they had emerged; but not if compared with the perfection of knowledge to which Christ came to exalt the human race. The earliest Fathers, as we learn from their works, were not receptive of large communications of truth. Their writings abound in puerilities and marks of childish credulity, and betray that indistinctness of vision, which is experienced by men, who issue from thick darkness into the light of day. In the ages of barbarism, which followed the fall of the Roman empire, Christianity, though it answered wise purposes of providence, was more and more disfigured and obscured. The Reformation was indeed a glorious era; but glorious for its reduction of papal and clerical power, and for the partial liberation of the mind, rather than for immediate improvements of men's apprehensions of Christianity. Some of the reformers invented or brought back as injurious errors as those they overthrew. Luther's consubstantiation differed from the pope's transubstantiation by a syllable, and that was all the gain; and we may safely say, that transubstantiation was a less monstrous doctrine than the five points of Calvin. How vain, therefore, was Milton's search for 'the mangled Osiris,' for 'the lovely form and immortal features of truth,' in the history of the church!

Let us not be misunderstood, as if we would cut off the present age from the past. We mean not, that Milton should have neglected the labours of his predecessors. He believed justly, that all the periods and generations of the human family are bound together by a sublime connexion, and that the wisdom of each age is chiefly a derivation from all preceding ages,

not excepting the most ancient, just as a noble stream, through its whole extent and in its widest overflowings, still holds communication with its infant springs, gushing out perhaps in the depths of distant forests, or on the heights of solitary mountains. We only mean to say, that the stream of religious knowledge is to swell and grow through its whole course, and to receive new contributions from gifted minds in successive generations. We only regret that Milton did not draw more from the deep and full fountains of his own soul. We wish only to teach, that antiquity was the infancy of our race, and that its acquisitions, instead of being rested in, are to bear us onward to new heights of truth and virtue. We mean not to complain of Milton for not doing more. He rendered to mankind a far greater service than that of a teacher of an improved theology. He taught and exemplified that spirit of intellectual freedom, through which all the great conquests of truth are to be achieved, and by which the human mind is to attain to a new consciousness of its sublime faculties, and to invigorate and expand itself forever.

We here close our remarks on Milton. In offering this tribute, we have aimed at something higher than to express and gratify our admiration of an eminent man. We believe that an enlightened and exalted mind is a brighter manifestation of God than the outward universe; and we have set forth, as we have been able, the praises of an illustrious servant of the Most High, that, through him, glory may redound to the Father of all spirits, the Fountain of all wisdom and magnanimous virtue. And still more; we believe that the sublime intelligence of Milton was imparted, not for his own sake only, but to awaken kindred virtue and greatness in other souls. Far from regarding him as standing alone and unapproachable, we believe that he is an illustration of what all, who are true to their nature, will become in the progress of their being; and we have held him forth, not to excite an ineffectual admiration, but to stir up our own and others' breasts to an exhilarating pursuit of high and ever-growing attainments in intellect and virtue.

THE END.

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REMARKS

ON THE

PRINCIPAL FEATURES

OF THE

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

SINCE THE YEAR

1793.

In the course of which are interspersed,

OCCASIONAL DISCUSSIONS

ON THE

LEADING POLITICAL TOPICS OF THE DAY.

BY THE REV. LAW. MOYES,
MINISTER OF FORGLEN, ABERDEENSHIRE.

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M.DCCC.XXVI.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS small Treatise is brought before the Public without any pretensions, and without prejudice. The thoughts that were suggested in the course of passing events, some of which occurred in close succession, are stated in their native form, simply and unreservedly. Time only can disclose those hidden springs which have given no small degree of impulse to European Politics. But the apparent causes have naturally come under our review; and, in the region of conjecture, some attention has been paid to that moral connection, which we are taught by experience to consider as constituting an essential quality in the established order of things. The most probable events have been anticipated, and conclusions drawn which appeared the most obvious, and most likely to stand the test of after inquiry.

And the only favour requested, or even expected, is credit for honest intentions, which, like charity, may cover a multitude of sins.

THE AUTHOR.

Forglen, November 1, 1826.

REMARKS,

&c.

GREAT Britain has long occupied a very important station in the first class of the European powers. Its early and successful attention to maritime affairs, its insular situation, its wealth, the enterprise and courage of its people, have all largely contributed to give it a high place among the nations.

The national character, its leading moral and political features, must, in a great measure, be ascribed to that happy representative government, by which it has been distinguished for many ages. Ever since the ratification of Magna Charta, the constitutional principle, which had an embryo existence even before that time, has been gradually unfolding itself, and assuming a more defined and systematic form. At no period has it been more fully understood, or more powerfully acted upon, than since the accession of his late Majesty; and more especially since the peace with America, in seventeen hundred and eighty-two. About,

and a little after that time, the political machine seems to have attained a greater degree of exactness and energy in its operations. The Three Estates seem to have arrived at a just sense of their respective rights and limits; and the strength of the nation rose in proportion as the constitutional principle approached to its proper level, and maintained its due rank. Thus, in full constitutional vigour, Great Britain felt conscious of her own strength, and of that weight which she ought to maintain in the scale of European politics. An opportunity soon occurred of developing her energies, by occupying a prominent place in that combined resistance, which was made to the alarming progress of the French arms and principles, in seventeen hundred and ninety-three.

Continental, hereditary, connections had on many occasions brought her forward to take an active part in continental disputes; and at times to bear the chief burden in expensive and protracted warfare, in pursuit of some object in which she was not immediately or principally concerned;—thus mingling her interests still more closely with those of other states. But her interference in 1793, was more an act of public spirit, more the prompt result of public feeling, than of any thing connected with political speculation. Formerly, the fate

of Hanover, or some cold calculation about the balance of power, or a remote contingency, brought us upon the field. But here the appeal was made, as it were, to the heart, and to the common feelings of men. The remorseless cruelties inflicted by the leaders of the revolutionary factions—the murder of the king, followed up by other crimes of equal atrocity—the threatened subversion of religion and government—the fatal and irresistible attraction to the awful vortex—altogether exhibited a scene which was beheld by the great body of the people, with pity, indignation, and terror.

The cry to arms then was not raised by the King and his ministers, as has been confidently asserted. Having no political purpose to serve, no increase of power, of trade, or territory, in view as an exciting cause; yea, disclaiming all interest of a selfish kind, they merely partook in the national feeling, and directed the public resentment against those military hordes, who were carrying every thing before them with an overwhelming force. If self-preservation contributed its share of influence, *they* shared in that only with the people at large; and as the responsibility was *their's*, they prepared to meet the danger before it approached too near. Our rulers, then, were stimulated by the common impulse, which we may call almost national,

and they hastened to avenge the cause of humanity, and to turn the battle back from our gate.

It was no scheme of aggrandizement then, but the burst of national feeling that roused our hostile energies, and sustained them with unshaken fortitude till the end was happily accomplished. It was the combined operation of authority and utility, the leading principles of every good government, mixed with strong sympathetic emotion. It was a feeling which bespoke a sense of danger, and of a deep interest in the sufferings of others.

The fortunate issue of the struggle in 1815, and the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, produced a new æra in the politics of Europe. One of the most prominent and influential results of this unexpected revolution (for two years before, it could not have been calculated upon), was the increased passion for legitimacy, and a firm purpose to establish it upon a permanent foundation. Accordingly, the allied powers, as soon as they had reinstated Louis XVIII. upon the throne, proceeded without delay to follow out their favourite system, and to extinguish those new dynasties which the ruler of France had set up as the pillars of his power. This work being accomplished, they next set about projecting some plan to prevent the recurrence of similar evils;

and with this view it was necessary to guard against the revolutionary principle, as a chief moving spring in the great political changes. To effectuate this primary object, they saw no scheme so likely to answer the end, as that of forming themselves into a confederation, for the avowed purpose of repressing the factions of the people, protecting the rights of Sovereigns, and watching over the interests of religion. From this last object of their design, perhaps, they assumed the imposing title of the Holy Alliance. The British government, although not inimical to the principle, declined taking any share in the measure. In this they might have been influenced by several considerations, but chiefly by the difference of religion, and by the spirit of the constitution. The Catholic and the Protestant interests could not have been equally served by the high contracting parties; as the zeal for the one would naturally have run counter to that for the other, and thus have tended to awaken irritation and bigotry. And moreover, as it was obviously implied in the preservation of order and regal authority, that all attempts upon the part of the people to obtain redress of political grievances, in whatever way, were to be put down, the members of a free representative government could not, with any regard to consistency, have

joined in withholding that boon from others, the importance of which they were highly sensible of, and to the guardianship of which they had been solemnly appointed.

This Holy Alliance constituted a distinguishing feature in European politics. It changed their aspect, and characterised all their secret movements. The thing itself, in certain circumstances, and with certain limitations, might have been highly useful. A board arbitral composed of the leading governments, to which all disputes were to be referred, and which was to be possessed of sufficient power to enforce obedience to its decrees, might have tended to perpetuate the peace and happiness of Europe. But such a weight of authority behoved to be vested in good hands; in those of rulers who really wished well to the happiness, and who respected the best rights, of men. Such a spirit of disinterestedness and magnanimity would have kept pace with the progressive improvements in the state of society, and in the capacity and moral condition of the people.

If all the governments had been nearly similar, alike watchful over the prosperity, and tender of the rights of the subject, then unanimity and vigilance, in promoting the most salutary ends, would have been the most likely result. But that could not have been expected in a

council so variously composed, of autocrats, absolute monarchs, patrons of constitutional freedom, and heads of representative governments. The very difference of feeling as to the use and exercise of power, arising necessarily out of the respective degrees of the power possessed, and the relative situations of the governed, as to the capacity or actual enjoyment of civil liberty, would have distracted their counsels, and defeated their object. Not to say that an absolute Monarch will inevitably be a tyrant: for this would be saying too much, and more than is supported by fact. We may find instances to the contrary in Sweden, in Denmark, in Austria, and in some of the States of Germany. Without constitutions, without any appeal but to the humanity and good sense of the Sovereign, the people in those different countries have frequently enjoyed a paternal care and solicitude, which would have done honour to the freest and best regulated governments. But hereditary power may fall into bad hands; and the crude intractable materials on which it has to operate may require an intensity in the application, altogether incompatible with the feelings of those who are in a more advanced state of civil society.

But the main objection to the Holy Alliance, and by far the most insurmountable is, that

spirit which it opposes to all revolutionary principles. Under this denomination, we are evidently to include all effort or attempt upon the part of the people to meliorate their political condition, whatever may be the urgency for effecting such a change. If the rulers were to study the proper time for bringing that about, then the popular interference might be unnecessary, and every good purpose would be equally answered. But what reason have we to suppose, that such would be the case, or that the majority would not be so intoxicated with the love of power, as to resist, in all cases, every encroachment upon the royal prerogative? And to what a woful stagnation would not this reduce the condition and character of man? Instead of being that improveable, progressive creature for which he has always been so distinguishable, he would soon, in his social, and even in his individual capacity, arrive at a stationary point, beyond which he would find it difficult to pass. For, divest him of the love of freedom, by deadening the sense of it from the hopelessness of ever attaining his object, and you at once paralyze his intellectual powers, and sink him into a state of torpor and apathy.

With all its imperfections, however, the Holy Alliance failed not to take effect, and to stamp a legible impression upon the aspect of Euro-

pean politics. The first exercise of its power, after the re-establishment of the old dynasties, was to quench the dawning of liberty in the two Sicilies. The incipient movements of the patriots were viewed as a revolutionary insurrection, and treated as a rebellion against all lawful authority. The Emperor of Austria, one of the chiefs of the confederacy, inundated Naples with his troops, and thus strangled the child of hope in its very cradle. The Emperor, by this means, obtained an extraordinary ascendency in Italy, which would have rendered him an object of jealousy and distrust, but for the sake of common principle, and the expectation of reciprocal acts of forbearance and good will. The autocrat of Russia was to be left at full liberty to extend his Asiatic boundary, and to settle marches with the Porte in his own way.

The British Cabinet was also relieved from all incumbrance in its operations in the East and West Indies, and in pursuing its favourite system of colonization.

But its forbearance was put to a severer trial, when measures were taken in 1822 to subvert the constitutional government in Spain, and to seat Ferdinand more firmly upon the throne. It must have been far from agreeable to our government to see a French army again

crossing the Pyrenees—to do what? Not to conquer Spain, for that would have been a dangerous doctrine to have promulgated, but to subjugate the people. England had already spent much blood and treasure, in rescuing Spain from the grasp of Gallic oppression, and she must have felt indignant to see the attempt renewed, to play over the same game, although ostensibly not for the same stake. The national feeling was intense, and strongly and loudly expressed. Our rulers, no doubt, shared with us in our emotions; and were assuredly prevented from shewing hostile indications, only from the cause already mentioned—mutual forbearance in the common system of aggrandizement.

It is very questionable, whether any interference on our part would have answered a good purpose. It would inevitably have given offence to the great Powers, and, in all probability, provoked them to attempt a course of policy very inimical to our interests. They had various ways of giving us annoyance. They could have fettered and excluded our commerce and our manufactures by heavy imposts. By favourable commercial treaties with our rivals, they could have given them a preponderancy over us. For instance, they could have given an exclusive preference to German cutlery, to Russian linen, and to French calicoes and broad

cloths. But what is worst, they could have encouraged discontent in our most distant provinces, and secretly aided them in throwing off a yoke, to which, mild and equitable as our treatment of them is, they have long submitted with impatience, and even not without the hope of revenge. The Emperor of Russia, for example, under the pretext of protecting the distant extremities of his Empire in the south and east, against the numerous hordes of Tartars, and powers of a more formidable aspect, might have stationed a great military force along that line of frontier, and thus opened up a communication with India, which would have promoted disaffection, and afforded the means of resistance not easily to be overcome. This would have required a greater military establishment in India; and of course much additional expense, which ultimately might have rendered our eastern possessions not worth the preserving.

Besides, what prospect was there, that our interposition, whether as an umpire, or as a party, could have given confidence and stability to the Spanish government? It was not for the interest of Great Britain, or of any European Power, that Spain should continue to be distracted by anarchy and internal commotion. Accordingly, the British Cabinet offered to me-

diate between Spain and her colonies, and to interpose, by wholesome counsel, for the peace and happiness of the mother country. The insincere, illiberal, vacillating, temper of Ferdinand, afforded no reason to hope for much at his hand, and little encouragement to persevere in a most hearty tender of its good offices. Neither was there much to expect from any aid which might be lent to the limited efforts of the patriots. A powerful party no doubt struggled for liberty. *There* talents and patriotism were not awanting. But the great body of the people was not prepared for the transition which the patriots contemplated, for passing from a state of slavery and vassalage, to the equal blessings of a free and representative government. The higher ranks were corrupted with, and enamoured of, hereditary power and privileges, and without excitement and energy to act vigorously in any cause. The lower orders were scarcely at that stage of mental emancipation, when they could appreciate any improved political change, or even discriminate rationally between one form of government and another. The Priests held them in subjection, and wielded them as the ready instruments of tyranny and oppression. The patriots then had to combat with ignorance and Priestcraft, in the prosecution of the cause of liberty; and after their

utmost exertions, the cause was but feebly s
ported, and indicated not very highly its fu
success. It would therefore have been ar
considerate and hopeless task for Great Br
to have attempted any thing by force of a
either in the way of supporting the authorit
the king, or the rights of the people.

What then could have induced the Gov
ment of France to put itself in military a
against the Spanish constitutionalists? It
well acquainted with the precise state of
case. It had the same inauspicious pro
staring it in the face; the irreconcilable
of the King to all kind of reform; a
indomitable spirit of liberty gaining gr
among the more intelligent and respectabl
members of the community. But France wa
not left to the impulse of her own feeling, or to
her own discretion and good sense. No: The
Holy Alliance here again applied its propelling
power, and left Louis XVIII. no choice but to
execute its orders. Being himself seated upon
the throne in virtue of legitimacy, he might be
supposed to have no disinclination to act upon
the same principle, in restoring a Bourbon to
the full enjoyment of his hereditary rights.
But Louis XVIII., peaceable from temper and
habit, had too much discernment not to per-
ceive the hopeless and hazardous nature of the

erprize in which he was about to embark. at in the name of wonder then could have ted him to run the risk of compromising rench character in a struggle so uninviting, on a theatre so painful and ominous? It his anxiety, amounting even to weakness, the inheritance should continue in his ily.

his very natural passion was strongly ught upon by the instability of public opi-n, scarcely yet out of the reach of the revolu-y vortex, by the weakness of the line of sion, and the readiness with which the f the league could bring forward, in the n of young Napoleon, a dangerous compe-itor for the crown of France.

There is reason to believe that means were taken to alarm his fears, and thus to force him, against his better judgment, to engage in an enterprise from which no good was to be expected. The passiveness of our rulers, at this momentous crisis, when the legions of France were about to re-enter the Peninsula, was severely stigmatized by many well meaning but superficial observers. *Their* forbearance was called for, not only because interference would have been useless, but because it was laying in a stock of merit against a future day. That day had already dawned, and was ushered in,

as it were, by the erecting the standard of liberty in the southern provinces of the western hemisphere. The mother country struggled hard to maintain her authority. But the charm, which had long secured implicit submission, was now dispelled, and the independency of an extensive region, now known by the name of the Columbian republic, was the fruit of long and arduous exertion. The contagion became general, and every thing threatened a speedy and final separation between Spain and her American colonies. A tempting prospect was hereby opened up to the mercantile and manufacturing interests of Great Britain. One general desire was excited and expressed; and our rulers were too well aware of the importance of the object, not to pursue it with vigour. A consular mission was the first project that naturally suggested itself. Accordingly, fit agents were sent out, not merely to represent our merchants, and to regulate our trade, but to act in a still more diplomatic character; to prepare the infant republics for still further recognitions, and to secure a preferable claim to their favour, by anticipating the rest of Europe in our attachment to their cause.

But the employment of these Consuls-General had another object in view besides that of commercial intercourse. It was also intended as an

experiment for trying the tempers of the European Cabinets, and ascertaining how far we might safely proceed in the same career. Thus to aid and assist in wresting from the King of Spain any part of his paternal inheritance would, one should have supposed, appear to the religious assertors of legitimacy, a crime of no ordinary magnitude: and without some secret countervailing influence, they would have undoubtedly stepped forward to prevent an evil so formidable and hostile to their principles. What had our ministers to give as the price of forbearance in a case of so critical a nature? They had one powerful argument to make use of, a formidable posture of defence, an attitude that was not easily to be shaken. But diplomacy also exerted all its powers; and while it soothed the angry passions, it endeavoured to improve the commercial intercourse, by infusing into it a more liberal spirit, and a greater reciprocity of generous and kindly feeling.

The duties, almost, and altogether, prohibitory on certain articles of French produce, were greatly reduced; and the old, narrow, excluding system, the offspring of jealousy and distrust, was set aside, and superseded by an experiment, alike illustrative of political wisdom and courage. A wider door being opened for the importation of French wines, and the prohibition

being taken off the lace and silk, great advantages would thereby be contemplated as an obvious result, and might well be entitled to some species of compensation of no inconsiderable value.

The proposal also, on the part of our Ministry, to introduce an alteration in our corn law, and to make agricultural produce a free trade, under the common commercial stipulations, would appear no small an acquisition to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Their extensive and fertile provinces upon the Vistula and the Elbe might thereby be enabled to find a ready market for their surplus grain, and thus have the means of securing a very considerable balance of trade in their favour. In a word, what with the development of our resources, and the new, unfettered, and highly disinterested nature of our commercial policy, a preparation was made for extending our foreign relations with every hope of impunity. Accordingly, the fit opportunity was readily embraced, and the independency of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, was solemnly recognised, and intimation thereof made to the several courts of Europe.

Common sense must have pointed out the urgency of the measure in a mercantile point of view; and something like a fellow feeling in

the cause of liberty, no doubt, contributed its share in producing the grand result. How the communication was received at the foreign courts, a little time only can disclose. The Parisian journals breathed a spirit of irritation and disappointment. They appealed to our own situation, to the extent and dissatisfaction of our colonies, and to the injury which we would sustain if foreign powers were, by way of reprisal, to treat us in a similar manner. This argument came with a very bad grace from the French, by whose powerful exertions our American possessions were wrested out of our hands, and raised to a state of sovereign independence. But the reflections and remonstrances of their Cabinet have not yet been officially declared, although there is every reason to believe that, notwithstanding all our commercial liberality, they were not very sparingly made use of. The thing, however, was done, and it was not understood that matters would proceed beyond a little mutual recrimination. The preparatory steps were wisely taken, whether as precautionary, or as the effects of an enlightened policy; and the point was reached without much danger of any very serious act of retaliation. In these preliminary measures there was such an union of skill in conducting the political tactics —of foresight in anticipating the most probable

results, and of sound judgment, in rendering the whole, with the least possible risk, subservient to national aggrandisement, that nothing can be conceived more masterly, or more deserving of the public approbation.

Other powers, composing the Holy Alliance, seemed to feel less. Farther removed from the scene of dispute, they were but partially and feebly affected; and having already obtained some, and entertaining the hope of greater advantages, they allowed this act of recognition to pass unpunished.

But the court of Spain did not submit so quietly. *It* had to sustain the loss, and to feel the full force of that blow which threatened to disunite it from its colonies for ever. It is no wonder, then, that the Spanish minister severely remonstrated, and used every means, so far as writing was concerned, to stigmatize our interference with the Spanish colonies. So early as the middle of January, 1825, M. Zea, Ferdinand's minister, addressed a note to our Charge d'Affaires at Madrid, complaining of the measure more immediately in contemplation, in strong pointed terms. He endeavoured, in the outset, to throw discredit on the channels by which our information on the state of affairs had been obtained. Then he proceeds to bring forward the general charge of violated treaties,

and of a total disregard to public faith, and to the rights of other nations.

This angry and reproachful note was ably and incontrovertibly answered by our Minister of the Foreign Department, towards the end of March in the same year. In the reply, Mr. Canning throws aside all the stiffness and stateliness of diplomatic communication, and enters upon the subject-matter of the memorial as a masterly reasoner, who knew his ground, and who could rebut with vigour every charge that had been urged against him. With respect to the correctness of our information, he rests his authority upon the indubitable fact, that so far from acting rashly or prematurely, a decisive issue had actually taken place in certain provinces, especially in those of Colombia, before even the intentions of the British government were announced; and that these provinces had already placed themselves in a state of independence, and under a regular, organized, and firmly-established government. Then he goes on to shew, that in treating with *de facto* governments, now established beyond the danger of any external assailment, Great Britain had violated neither any general principle of international law, nor any positive obligation of treaty. He begins with the latter as the most specific accusation, and ably refutes the charge

of violated treaties, so repeatedly brought forward by M. Zea. The broken treaties condescended upon are those of 1809 and 1814. The former, from its very name and character, the acute Secretary proves to be totally unconnected with the present business. It was a treaty made at the beginning of the Spanish struggle against France, and was directed wholly, and in terms not to be misapprehended, to the circumstances of the moment at which it was made. It is expressly described in the first article as a treaty of "alliance during the war," in which we were engaged jointly with Spain against France. And, by itself, was binding no longer than the object for which it was entered into was fully attained.

But this treaty was in effect superseded and replaced by that of 1814, wherein was expressed, an earnest wish on the part of his Britannic Majesty, that Spanish America may be re-united to the Spanish Monarchy, and our engagement to prohibit British subjects from supplying the Spanish Americans with the "munitions of war." That this wish was sincere is evident, as Mr. Canning distinctly states, from the way in which it was followed up by an act of Parliament, passed in 1819, prohibiting the ser[illegible] of British subjects in the ranks of the r[illegible] colonies, which was more than was sti[illegible]

for: and by the repeated offers of Great Britain to mediate between Spain and her colonies. Mr. Canning denies having insisted on the admission of the independence of the American provinces as the only basis of a mediation, as M. Zea so unblushingly alleged. So far from assuming that as a *sine qua non* at any of the periods at which the point was discussed between the two governments, he explicitly avers, that the assumption was first proposed by Spain herself, at the Cortes in 1822; and was accordingly acted upon, although afterwards disavowed by his Catholic Majesty; and that several months intervened before Great Britain confidentially stated it as her opinion to the court of Spain, that matters had now come to that crisis, which excluded all hope of reconciliation, except on the basis of independency alone.

With regard to the other charge, the alleged violation of general international law, Mr. Canning reasons also most ingenuously and conclusively. He points out the absurdity of supposing, that, in no combination of circumstances, ancient political relations were ever to be altered or set aside. Such an hypothesis would im- that nations were destined to remain sta- as to moral and political improvement; t a state of things which had been jum-

bled together by accident, or settled by fraud or force, should be for ever sacredly and inviolably preserved. But see how ill that system of inviolability would quadrate with one fact. Consider nations as they really are, in a progressive improveable state, some only in infancy, some in the vigour of youth, and others in the decrepitude of old age; and how preposterous would it be to assign to all these different conditions respectively the same permanent political existence, as if these various stages in the scale of improvement had been so from the beginning, and had arisen out of principles of a fixed and an inherent nature? But the state that was once in infancy, and in leading-strings, may be now ripened into the vigour of manhood; and conscious of its strength, and glowing with all the ardour of youth, it may scorn its original humbleness and obscurity, and aspire to a more elevated rank among the nations. If it shall attain its object by high efforts of patriotism and political wisdom; if, in short, it shall establish its independence upon a firm and an unassailable footing, is it not acting from innate constitutional impulses? Is it not as natural for it to seek to move in a sphere suited to its more expanded powers, as it is for the full-grown youth to shake off the trammels of [illegible] and pupilage? Is it not, in its maturer yea[illegible]

be received into society, and to be treated with that respect which becomes its advancement in wisdom and in years? Or is the parent state still to exercise her parental authority, and to exact from it all the docility and submission of childhood? This would be carrying the relation, at first natural and necessary, to too great a length, and exacting a compliance which is opposed to all progressive attainments, and to the imperious call of existing circumstances. That there are parental claims of a very binding nature cannot be denied, and which may remain in force for a great length of time. But there is a period when these will become less obligatory, in the natural course of things, or when, from a certain treatment, they may cease altogether, scarcely leaving a vestige of a sense of obligation or gratitude. That period arrives when the infant state or colony has reached maturity, and when it is undergoing severe merciless correction, in order to bring it back to its original minority and helplessness.

Such was the Netherlands—as most appropriately quoted and reasoned upon by our distinguished diplomatist; Portugal; and we may add, the United States. All these struggled [illegible]ng and hard for independence; and, in spite [illegible]l reserved abstract claims upon the part of [illegible]arent states, third powers were not slow

to recognise their sovereign rights, long before these claims were formally revoked. Circumstances may naturally occur of too imperious a nature to allow other powers to delay for a greater length of time the recognition of a *de facto* government—the entering into treaties with it—and the placing it in a state of responsibility as to the conduct of its people. To retain the right after it has nearly ceased to exist, or after all parental authority is fairly at an end, is attempting to grasp at the shadow instead of the substance; to hold by a mere speculative claim the possession that has fully and freely passed into other hands.

How absurd, how dangerous would it have been for the other governments to have stood aloof from the Netherlands at that advanced stage of their liberation and of their strength, when they were covering the seas with their fleets, when they were retaliating with awful vengeance upon a remorseless, unfeeling parent, and raising up a natural power too formidable to be overlooked or treated with indifference? Were they not to embrace the first favourable opportunity of treating with a great commonwealth which had completely severed itself from the mother country, of recognizing its immediate existence as a state, and of thus bringing it within the pale of those rights and duties,

which civilized nations are bound mutually to respect, and are entitled reciprocally to claim from each other? The recognition of the new Monarchy of the House of Braganza by other states, took place also long before the independence of Portugal was acknowledged by the Spanish Monarch.

In both instances, the *de facto status* was acknowledged and treated with; while the tie *de jure* was still kept hold of, although by a trembling hand; and the obsolete, unmeaning claim was spurned at by an emancipated and indignant people. In a word, the United Provinces and Portugal were admitted by the rest of Europe to share the honours and privileges of sovereign, independent states, nearly half a century before they were formally released from all obligation of duty and filial subordination to the parent country. Spain persevered in maintaining a right that was spun out to a single hair, and whose lingering existence its own feebleness only could have protracted for so long a time.

In the political controversy, then, with Mr. Canning, as to the recognition of South American independence, M. Zea had evidently the worst of it. The case is so clearly made out by our able Statesman, that the approbation even of an enemy can scarcely be withheld. The

good policy and good faith are so well established, and the general result is founded on principles so wise and incontrovertible, so consonant with the feelings of the most enlightened economists, that no serious charge could be brought forward by other governments who had an interest in opposing the measure.

Before dismissing this branch of the subject, it may be proper to add, that the United States severed themselves from Great Britain by means somewhat different from those employed by their brethren of the South. They declared their independence, when the prospect of maintaining it was very unpromising; and without engaging the great European Powers in the strenuous support of their cause, *it*, in all human probability, would not have been so speedily brought to a favourable conclusion. Just before the arrival of powerful reinforcements from France, and on the eve of a war with Holland, then a formidable naval power, whose jealousy we had somehow provoked, they were reduced to a very low ebb. The time of military service expired, without money or credit, and dispirited by a series of recent defeats, the infant republic was about to be strangled in its birth. But one of those rare characters that spring up only in the course of ages, presided over the rising fortunes of his country,

and suffered them not long to remain in a stationary or declining state. He rose with the danger; infused new life and vigour into every department, as well as confidence into the heart that was beginning to fail; and the jealousy, and perhaps imprudence, of European Cabinets unexpectedly crowned his hopes and his labours with success. It is not by this to be understood that our American Colonies had no right to assert their independence, and that so long as we kept our hold, other nations had no right to interfere. No: But only that the interference was premature, and that through their exertions chiefly, the colonies were wrested from us, and raised to the rank of a free and an independent republic. Great Britain did not, like Spain, persevere in her claim after all controlling power was completely at an end. She tried her strength in a few fruitless campaigns; and, roused to a sense of interest, as well as of national honour, she came frankly forward, and acknowledged the majority and manhood of a son who had cost her dear.

The end has illustrated the sound political sagacity which dictated the measure; and the extraordinary demand for our manufactures, in proportion as the tide of population rolled over boundless regions to a magnitude which could only have resulted from peculiar and remark-

able circumstances, has indeed amply indemnified us for the loss of honours which might have been precarious—at best vain and expensive. Long may the ties of gratitude and affection subsist between Great Britain and the United States. Speaking the same language; constituted upon the same moral principle; having kindred feelings of patriotism, magnanimity, and courage; alike emulous of character and good faith; and united by something more tender and sympathetic than similarity of disposition, they are formed to go on in fellowship in the career of glory, and to stand by each other in the hour of distress.

There is still a political enigma which requires a solution, more especially in relation to the Holy Alliance, and to our policy with foreign states; and that is, the peculiar situation of the throne of Sweden, the only solitary instance where legitimacy has not been established. In 1810, when the Emperor of France, at the very summit of his power, was giving law to Europe, Bernadotte was elected Crown Prince of Sweden, and heir apparent to the Swedish throne. From that of a private soldier, this extraordinary person rose to the rank of a General and Peer of France; and soon after to the undisturbed possession of the throne of an ancient kingdom. We can in some measure account

for his final accession to so high a station. But his being allowed to continue in that station, as a solitary exception to the decided maxims of the Holy Alliance, is a point not so easily settled. The all powerful influence of France, joined to the respectability of his own character, while he held an important military command in the north of Germany, was sufficient perhaps to recommend him to a vacancy in the line of succession: and the Swedes, to cut off all hope of restoration from the exiled family, entered the more readily into the execution of a scheme, to which irritation and prejudice might have prompted them. In the year 1812, Bernadotte was caressed by the confederacy then formed against France; and by a powerful armed neutrality, he diverted the attention of Bonaparte in his advance into Russia, and thus secured the confidence and friendship of the allies. But, in the year 1813, he more effectually redeemed his pledge, by taking a decided part in the battle of Leipsic, and contributing to the total overthrow of the French army. The critical state in which the allies were placed, when such an overwhelming force was threatening the annihilation of Russia; and even during a course of painful vicissitudes, for some time after, obliged them to make every possible effort to strengthen the alliance, and thus to ensure the success of their cause.

They naturally, in such circumstances, turned their eyes to Bernadotte, whose situation they could improve, and whose military talents might throw great weight into the scale. His doubtful policy, which for a while awakened as much fear as hope, extorted promises, which were afterwards carefully fulfilled. *Then* was the time, when the crown of Sweden was guaranteed, and when the annexation of Norway was solemnly stipulated. But the Holy Alliance, which had not yet come into existence, might, from its strong anti-revolutionary principle, have afterwards revoked these grants, and apologized for its procedure, upon the ground that new and unexpected circumstances demanded a new and corresponding line of conduct; and that, after all the expense of blood and treasure, no government could yet be deemed permanent, where legitimacy, and the old regime were not fully recognised and established.

To the force of this reasoning, the minds of men might have been rendered more reconcilable by the acquirements and amiable qualities of the Prince, whose father had been hurled from the throne, and by his intimate relationship with some of the principal sovereigns of Germany. But strong as the plea was, whether of friendship or policy, there was no pub-

lic indication of any hostile intention against the existing order of things. Bernadotte has been suffered to retain his elevated station, and his rank among the Potentates of Europe. This is the more astonishing, as the allies, flushed with victory, and having the fate of Europe at their disposal, possessed the power, and might have had the inclination to dismiss this new-made King, and to restore the heir of line to his ancient and hereditary rights.

The faith of treaties was no doubt sacred and binding. But that would have been no match for political sophistry and the lust of arbitrary power, unless it had been supported by something inauspicious and uncomplying on the part of England. It was most natural for the British Cabinet to secure a friendly alliance upon the Baltic. Sweden presented the most inviting aspect; and, with such an ally, there was a fair prospect that a northern confederacy would not soon be renewed; and that Russia might in that direction be successfully opposed in her plans of aggrandisement. Nothing, it is probable but the dread of an English fleet, prevented measures from being taken for restoring the old line, and placing upon the throne of his ancestors, a Prince who might prove too obsequious to the power that had raised him up. It was not the policy of England to permit the

accession of so much strength in so suspicious a quarter; and her timely regard to her own interest, in drawing close the cords of amity and friendship with Bernadotte, certainly tended to keep that Prince in possession of his honours, and to secure his support in the time of need.

But the chief of the Holy Alliance, that main-spring of the whole political mechanism of Europe—is no more. In the prime of life, and after a short reign of vicissitude and exertion, he died universally lamented, in a distant province of his Empire. Whatever may have been his political crimes, his private character was amiable and prepossessing. Even his views as to the emancipation and mental improvement of the numerous tribes over whom his dominion extended, were humane and liberal; and the measures which he adopted for carrying these into effect, if rightly followed out, will embalm his memory, and transmit it even to distant ages. His narrow policy, with regard to other nations, and the stationary degraded rank in the political scale in which he wished to retain the people, might have originated in the prejudices of education, and in the general incapacity of his own subjects for enjoying the blessings of a free or a representative government. In estimating the rest of Europe by the Russian stan-

dard, he widely miscalculated, and thus stained his fame, by directing and enforcing a system, which would have treated all men as in the same state of ignorance and barbarism. It could not have been his jealousy of the republican spirit of the Poles; nor of the steady march of the public mind in Prussia, in the road to freedom and elevation, that festered in his bosom, and cherished that morbid, ill-boding sensibility, so hostile and obstructive to the progressive state of man. No: His general character, rather open and magnanimous, even approaching to the romantic, is sufficient to disprove the operation of so contracted a sentiment, and to refer his views of government to a more legitimate source—education, and habit. But he was ambitious; and that passion, restless and insatiable, was constantly involving him in some new scheme of aggrandizement, and thus perplexing and disturbing the Cabinets of Europe. Witness the tedious and laborious mediation which he occasioned to our Ambassador at the Porte, and the watchfulness, and jealousy, and painful uncertainty, which his active and portending politics often produced in the councils of other nations; and we may rest satisfied that his schemes of conquest, deeply laid, and fondly cherished, would have been more unequivocally pursued, if his

policy had been more successful, and his means more adequate to the end. But when we consider, his birth, education, and prospects, the nature of his government, the unprincipled talents of his ministers, and the magnitude of his resources, we must allow that he has acted his part on the theatre of Europe with more forbearance, disinterestedness, and integrity, than we could have expected from a ruler of his endowments, and in a situation so peculiar. In private life, he is said to have been frank, humane, and generous. In a word, his memory will long be respected; and taking an average view of his predecessors, and of himself, it would not be more than he deserved, to distinguish him by the appellation of the good Emperor.

Time has yet to unfold and fix the autocratical character of his successor. Some features are already ascertained—a fierce military spirit, and an unquenchable thirst after military fame, especially if it can be earned on the shores of the Bosphorus. But these features may be softened down by existing circumstances; and the firm attitude of the great Powers, who will not fail to be upon the alert, may convince Constantine, as it did his brother, that Europe is not again to be overrun by Scythian hordes. Whether Constantine will be the champion of the Holy Alliance is yet to be discovered.

Could any romantic attachment to the Ex-king of Sweden determine his views upon that point? Or will he merely be influenced by the general principle, that the rod of despotism is more insensibly felt where the human faculties are in an uncultivated and stagnant state? It were as well that such a fettering, aspiring combination should be dissolved. Whatever may be said to the contrary, there is no good likely to result from it. If it is calculated to preserve the peace of Europe, it must do it at the expense of great intellectual sacrifice. It must humble and deaden the active powers, in order to keep them quiet and submissive. It must not only take away the means, but even the desire of becoming better. It must keep a strict watch over the mind, and remove every thing out of its reach that can excite either its power or its ambition. Such a combination acting upon such principles, is hostile to the designs of Providence, and to the natural course of things; opposing a barrier, as well to moral and scientific improvement, as to the melioration of the social contract, and of the political condition of man.

But it is also fraught with a power that may be dangerous to its weaker neighbours. Nations, like individuals, presume much upon their own aggregate strength, and, like them,

will set their face to things in a body that would appal them individually. Look back to the shameless despotism of the oligarchical governments of Venice, of Genoa, and even of Holland. Turn the reluctant eye to the outrage committed against Poland by the three great Powers; and see how by dividing the blame, they braved the infamy of the transaction. The same combination of elements, may act with as little modesty or reserve in similar circumstances. Austria and Russia may have an eye to large shares of Turkey in Europe; and France and Prussia could be indemnified at home: the one by something from Spain, and the other by a little more sea-room upon the shores of the Baltic. Britain and Holland, and the other northern states, having little to expect, must therefore watch, and be ready to resist encroachments that may prove dangerous to their peace, and even to their existence. It were perhaps desirable, could it be done consistently with the public safety, that the Turkish Empire in Europe should be subverted; and that a ferocious people, whose polluted and lengthened-out residence in the most favoured regions of the globe, has long been considered as a stain upon polished nations, should be rooted out, and obliged to retrace their steps, to their original wastes, or to

establish themselves in some of their Asiatic provinces, beyond the precincts of civilized life. The act is far from being impracticable at the present juncture. A powerful and well concerted effort in support of the Greeks, either in the way of diversion, or more immediate co-operation, would turn the balance in their favour, and rouse them to a grand successful struggle for the recovery of the land of their fathers. But suppose the event were accomplished, how is the spoil to be divided? The assisting party must get little. All Turkey in Europe, from the Danube to the Morea, ought to be given to the new State, to furnish it with the means of self-defence, and of holding a respectable place in the scale of nations. The provinces beyond the Danube—Moldavia, Wallachia, and other detached portions, should be erected into a separate principality; the independency of which should be as carefully watched and protected as that of the Swiss Cantons, and of the republics of Italy and Holland was, in former times. But how would England be affected by such a change, and what reasons has she to wish for the restoration of a Greek Empire? The feelings of humanity, and all those tender associations which naturally arise in the mind on a view of the singular fate of that once great, but long-enslaved people, now exerting themselves

in the cause of liberty, and in the assertion of their dearest rights, must at once excite in us a desire to avenge their wrongs. But nations, or political bodies, are not always swayed like individuals, by personal feelings or emotions. They must form a cooler and more deliberate judgment. They must consult and act only for the public good; looking through a long train of contingencies to some probable or remote result. In a word, they must have mind without heart, and political discernment and courage, undismayed even by the remonstrances of sensibility and moral feeling. Let England be allowed this indulgence in examining the claims of the Greeks; in weighing the relative advantages that might accrue to her wealth or her power, from the ultimate success of one or other of the contending parties. The Greeks would plead the bonds of Christian fellowship, the progress of civilization, and all those social and cultivated endowments, which give them a preferable title to be admitted within the pale and protection of civilized life. They would urge their superior capacity for availing themselves of their inestimable resources, in the encouragement of trade, and in directing all their maritime enterprize and skill to the extension of commercial intercourse.

The reverse of all this only could in truth be

stated of the Turks. Insulated and intolerant from the nature of their religion, and the stationary rudeness and ferocity of their government, they are alike hostile to all Christian nations, and to all fellowship and intercourse with Christian people. In the antique form of rude and awful majesty, and with that severe, haughty aspect, which originally characterized their demeanour, they are still assuming the airs of lords of the creation, and frowning on the affected superiority of the progressive improvements in arts and literature. The very elements of such a character are inimical to commercial intercourse, and of course to that spirit of emulation and enterprise, which could render them an object of jealousy or terror to the other maritime powers. After looking at the contending parties with a critical eye, and examining their respective claims to patronage and protection, England must see reason to expect much rivalship in trade, and much powerful competition, in the event of the revival of a Greek Empire. That amphibious, and dexterous people, alike qualified to ply the oar or the shuttle, would soon waft to the most distant shores the rich produce of a delicious country, and carry back our precious metals to increase their resources and their capacity of becoming a still more formidable power. They

might even monopolize the merchandise of the East, and again establish the port of Constantinople as the emporium of the most valuable productions of the globe. Their situation would be admirably fitted for carrying their most ardent purposes into effect, and for making Greece, once more, the centre of attraction to all the luxuries, the elegancies, and the comforts of life.

But exclusive of this rivalry in trade, a circumstance not to be overlooked by a country, which, by means of commerce, has risen to its present eminence, Greece might lose also in the comparison with the existing monarchy, as a balancing State, or fail of being equally calculated to counteract the preponderating influence of ambitious and powerful empires.

This might arise from the want of mere physical weight, and from the superior difficulty of bringing that weight, such as it is, to bear solely and exclusively in any scale which may require it. The extensive resources which Turkey possesses both in Asia and Africa, and which are always at command, chiefly through the operation of religious bigotry, must still, virtually independent as many of the provinces are, give to that Government a decided preponderancy in the political balance. Even the numerous vassal states, which yet contemplate with veneration and pride the Sultan of Ico-

nium, seated upon the throne of the Cæsars, would put forth all their strength to preserve the glory of their chief, and their own borrowed lustre and importance. Besides, Turkey, from its thorough dislike to, and total exclusion from all Christian fellowship, could be thrown fully and bodily into the scale, and thus prove a more ready and efficient counterpoise to the weight of an aspiring and a formidable power. It has always been had recourse to in critical conjunctures to bring down the scale; and if it trimmed the balance with a rough hand, it gave a greater and more durable effect to its political character, as a ponderous, prevailing mass, that pressed hard and sore.

All these circumstances are to be taken into the account in our Turkish politics; and if we have stood aloof from the Greek cause, neither suffering ourselves to be swayed by a love of glory nor the cry of distress, it is more than probable, that our Cabinet has seen reason to prefer the old fortress, mutilated as it is, and to consider its frowning battlements as yet more terrible to the ambitious offender, than any new erection, although decorated by Grecian sculpture, and all the symmetry and strength of the Grecian art. Viewing the case with the eye of a British minister, I would say, let the Greeks

fight their own battles, and if they can meliorate their condition, good and well. But let Turkey alone, and if it can maintain its independency and its strength, it will prove the best safeguard against the encroachments of Russia and Austria, and be easily excited to enter the lists with them as natural and avowed enemies. This disposition to resist, and capacity of doing so, would give the lesser States a respite from persecution, by furnishing employment to the greater. It would be particularly beneficial to England, to be able to work such an engine, and to render it subservient to great political purposes. It has been wrought with distinguished success in past times, especially by the French, who, in their great continental struggles, almost always contrived to involve the Turks in their quarrel, and thus to relieve themselves of some part of that universal hostility, which they had, in many instances, so justly provoked. No nation had ever such an ascendency in the Divan as the French, and they turned their influence to good account, both in military and mercantile concerns. The Levant trade, in which they long stood unrivalled, and which was their great pillar as a commercial people, was thrown into their hands through that channel; and the sound of the Turkish trumpet upon the Danube, reached even to the Weser

and the Meuse, and paralyzed the efforts of the enemies of the great nation. If England could take the same hold of that haughty, and I may say, unobtruding, manageable, people; if she could acquire the same interest in their councils, and the same direction of their measures, then she also could wield them to her own purposes, whether in peace or war, and thus strengthen her hands, either for holding up or pulling down, and for raising her name still higher in the records of fame.

But the long reign of warfare and national animosity is perhaps now drawing towards a close, and that blessed era commencing, when the sword shall be turned into a ploughshare, and the spear into a pruning hook; and when the influence of the gospel of peace shall universally prevail over the Christian world. Happy were it for mankind that such a glorious prospect could be now, and for ages, realised. Then would we see the prophecy fulfilled, and all the glories of Messiah's kingdom visibly and powerfully displayed upon the earth. But, alas! in the present state of human nature, advanced and improved in many respects as it is, there is much reason to fear, that contention has not yet ceased; and that wars, and rumours of wars, will continue to exist so long as the selfish, the covetous, or the angry passions of men remain

active and unsubdued. In this case, then, Great Britain has to anticipate the recurrence of evils that have already existed, and to provide for them accordingly. She has to select with judgment in forming her alliances, to support those which are most likely to be serviceable, and thus to secure some sure friends who will stand by her in the time of need. This may be called Machiavelian policy. But it is the policy of nations; and to attach or counteract, we must handle the weapons that are in common use. We must advance to our point by the common road, otherwise, we may be longer in reaching that point, by having to find our way in an untried path; and we may be defeated in our designs, by the unskilful use, or the ineffectiveness, of armour which we have not yet sufficiently proved.

A recent event of great political interest, the resignation of Constantine, and the accession of Nicholas the First to the crown of Russia, lessens indeed the chance of any change being speedily effected in the condition of Turkey, or in the general politics of Europe. It is understood that the reigning Emperor has more of the pacific temper of Alexander, and that he will pursue the objects of the late reign, with the same appearance of moderation, with the same calm but over-weening ambition. Such a

policy is more to be dreaded, as it is silent and progressive, and as the scene of its operation is remote and almost unknown. The vast regions to the East of the Caspian, and which would be as easily possessed as Georgia and the Caucasian provinces, would render Russia very formidable as an Asiatic power; and the routes of former conquerors might point out to them the practicability of effecting still further conquests. The acquisition of Bokhara and Samarcand would be a great preliminary point gained. Abounding in rich plains, and intersected by noble and navigable rivers, they would form a powerful station in central Asia, whence invading armies could be sent in every direction, and over the whole extent of those regions, the conquest of which had once been achieved by a force from the same quarter. This object has not been overlooked by the court of St. Petersburgh. Secret missions, and other covert acts, have been resorted to, for making preparatory disclosures, and thus facilitating the scheme and operations of some future enterprise. It is difficult to say by what means this occult, steady, process of aggrandizement is to be guarded against, or defeated. The scene is far distant. We cannot bring any thing to bear immediately upon it, or to come into contact with it. Deserts, and rapid streams, and fierce tribes,

are still the great intervening boundaries in the East; and, in the North, we must regulate our measures by the feelings and inclinations of European Cabinets. Still the aggrandizing projects of Russia must be watched, and counteracted as far as circumstances will permit. Keeping alive the jealousy of the Turks—not a very difficult task—and securing the friendship of Sweden by a natural and easy alliance, a powerful antidote might thereby be prepared; and Great Britain might be able to ward off the blow from her most distant frontier, by manœuvring skilfully in the Baltic, or on the Bosphorus. Besides, she has it in her power to influence the Russian Cabinet through the medium of trade, the balance of which is greatly in favour of our northern neighbours. It is well known that the oligarchical government of Russia sees and pursues its commercial interests with a quick-sightedness and perseverance of which few nations can boast. Whether or not the members of that Government have a personal interest in the prosperity of commerce, they certainly are enthusiasts in the cause. Interfere with them in this field; do any thing to diminish their exports, or to injure their merchandise, and you immediately rouse their jealousy, and provoke their resentment. It was the exclusion of the English from his ports, in a fit of roman-

tic attachment to Bonaparte, that awakened the fury of the courtiers of the Emperor Paul, and armed them against his life. This selfish, or strong national principle, then, may be turned to some account. It may be flattered or threatened, according to circumstances; and, in this way, a powerful interest might be brought to bear upon Russian politics. For instance, let England threaten to take all her northern supplies, her flax and her hemp, her tallow, her hides, and her timber from other ports; from those of Prussia, Sweden, and the Netherlands, and the lever would instantly and effectually be applied, and the huge overgrown mass wielded at pleasure. Active and qualified agents stationed in Persia, and in the countries bordering upon the Attock, the Indus, and the Oxus, might watch the motions, and penetrate the designs of Russia as to her oriental movements; and by transmitting the necessary intelligence, such measures might be taken, and commercial arrangements made, as would recall her attention to domestic concerns of the deepest imporance. The ruling passion must be wrought upon, and by a skilful application to that grand moving principle, our possessions in the East may long be bounded by a broad and an impassable line of demarcation. There is also a great probability, that the independent nations and

tribes on that line of frontier would be more disposed to favour us in our quiet and unassuming pretensions, than an overgrown power that was crushing under its weight every thing that opposed its progress.

But while we watch and negotiate, and wind up the political machine with a skilful hand, we must also be prepared to act. Our attitude must be erect and imposing, and must undergo no visible change by the alternative of peace or war. And there is no way by which a State can render itself more formidable than by firmness and economy. A timid, vacillating policy is an indication of weakness; and the difficulty of obtaining increased supplies, owing to the pressure of public burdens, the consequence of profusion and profligacy, must soon be perceived, and treated accordingly, by the neighbouring powers. It is well remarked, that money is the sinews of war; that without it no physical or moral force can be sufficiently concentrated, or brought to bear for any length of time. In short, the nation that is in penury, or that cannot command great pecuniary resources to answer all emergencies, must be insulted, and in time reduced to vassalage and insignificancy.

Before this time, our war in the East has probably terminated, and a distinct, well defined

line been carefully secured, as a strong boundary to our Asiatic possessions in that quarter. As to the relevancy of the causes which led to the commencement of hostilities, we are not yet furnished with sufficient documents for giving a decided opinion. It is not to be supposed that the Governor-General would have risked so much without great provocation, nor without being convinced that conciliatory measures could be of no avail. It is confidently asked, why did he not try to negotiate, and to gain by wisdom what might not be so easily obtained by force? A too great fondness for negotiation is a sign of weakness, and may strengthen the confidence of the adverse party in certain circumstances. In the Burmese case, it would have amounted to an infallible proof. That crafty, semi-barbarous people, would soon have penetrated our reasons of forbearance; and accustomed to respect only the arm of power, they would, ere long, have given the challenge, and set us at defiance. Our extensive dominions in India are of a very curious and delicate construction. The first general aspect which they present, is that of an immense population, consisting of innumerable tribes and nations, deprived of their independence, and moulded into a new form, and directed at pleasure by a deputation of men and troops from a foreign land. It is

obvious, at first sight, that in this heterogeneous mass much combustible matter must be concealed. Ancient prejudices reduced, and oppressed dynasties, mortified pride, antipathies, and jealousies, peculiarly strong in their case, and common to all subjugated nations, compose the inflammable elements, and must be a constant subject of vigilance, anxiety, and care, to our authorities in India. To render these as harmless as possible, wise and salutary laws were framed for ameliorating the condition of the people, and for extending to them that security and protection to which they had long been strangers. But the effects of this great moral change must have time to operate before their subduing or harmonizing power can be felt. Long experience is requisite to convince a people that their conquerors are really their friends; and, during the length of time that the test is necessary for the most favourable results, there is a danger of explosion in some quarter or other, which might lead to consequences of the most alarming nature. The strong arm of power is also necessary to preserve our authority. The charm of a mysterious superiority, of something terrible and overawing, must encircle our banners, and rivet in wonder the eyes of the countless multitudes that acknowledge our sway. Were this charm to be dissolved; had

the Burmese been permitted to make aggressions, or to insult us with impunity, then a door would have been opened to similar liberties and encroachments, and the whole, like a nest of hornets, might soon have been buzzing about our ears and rendering our situation far from desirable. Whether the Governor-General took pains to calculate exactly all the chances of loss and gain; whether he took into the account, the distance, extent, and difficulty of the country which was soon to become the seat of war; the nature of the climate, and the kind of enemy he had to contend with; whether he did all this, and then balanced the probable waste of blood and treasure, or the risk of total failure, against the loss that was likely to be sustained by forbearance and diplomacy, and at last decided according to the preponderating scale, I cannot pretend to determine. If these precautionary steps were not taken; if recourse was had to the sword from a sudden impulse, from a spirit of hostility, or from a love of vain glory, then much blame must be attached to the patronage that made choice of so unfit a person to preside over our Asiatic dominions. But the seeds of jealousy and distrust were sown before his appointment to that high trust. Symptoms of disease had already appeared, and it rested with the Governor-General to apply

merely palliatives, or to encounter the evil by remedies of a more decided character. He chose the latter, and we shall believe it to have been his only alternative, till time and circumstances oblige us to alter our opinion.

It is matter of deep regret that so many brave men should have perished in that distant and perilous service. Had they died in the field, it is the death which the soldier covets. But they fell ingloriously under the baleful influence of an unhospitable climate. The object may be attained. The steps now taking—the armistice —the interchange of good offices—the mutual desire for peace, all indicate the speedy arrival of that blessing, and on the most favourable terms. The jewel, however, is purchased at too high a price. Our fine army cannot be replaced. A British soldier is not to have his life sported with in any situation;—but he is an object of deeper interest, and of tenfold solicitude, on the shores of the Irrawaddy or the Ganges.

The preceding remarks on our foreign policy since the beginning of the revolutionary war in 1793, are only of a cursory nature, as originally intended. They are the result not merely of speculation, but of facts which have come under my own observation, and which now and then

claimed a share of my attention. Had my situation admitted of it, a picture of a more primary and political character would have been exhibited, and such developments made as would have presented to view some of those secret springs, which, acted upon, often by incidental or local causes, frequently give the chief momentum to the great political machine. But this important and more difficult inquiry is left to those who are placed in more favourable circumstances, who are in proximity with the best sources of information, and who have leisure to avail themselves of all their opportunities.

Our attention will next be directed to some of the principal features in the domestic policy, or in other words, to those leading questions which have been, or will soon be, under the consideration of the British Parliament. Some of these topics have already been discussed, and in a manner worthy of their deep importance. Others are waiting their time, and will of course be examined with equal care and ability. As primogeniture implies a priority of right as well as of descent, the Catholic question has a claim upon our earliest notice. Of all the leading topics of the day, it has been longest upon the field, and oftenest the subject of able and keen dispute. Our remarks upon *this* will just be of a piece with those upon other points—

short, dispassionate, and unpretending. The state of the question is plain and simple. Ought the Roman Catholics of the British Empire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of their Protestant fellow-subjects? At first sight, we might be disposed to say—Yes. Living under the same Government, protected by the same laws, and contributing equally to the expenses and defence of the state, it is but reasonable that they should possess all political rights in common, in so far as they are qualified for this trust, and for the safe and peaceable exercise of these rights. It is also understood, that no man can do any thing positively detrimental to the State with impunity, that all seditious and treasonable practices are cognizable by the established authorities, and that the strong arm of law is sufficient to preserve the internal peace and safety of the community. Where, then, it may be asked, is the necessity for imposing penal disabilities in a particular case; for administering painful preventatives, on a mere supposition that a disorder may take place at some time or other? This is inflicting punishment before the crime is committed. It is wasting and debilitating the system, to lessen the chance of disorder. It is confessing an incompetency in the executive power to administer salutary correction, and showing a disre-

gard to that strict, distributive justice which gives to every one according to his due. Every member of a community certainly has an equal and a just claim to protection, and all other essential rights and privileges, so long as he conducts himself with propriety. This claim is founded upon those first principles of reciprocity and common consent which enter into the social compact, and which alone can render it strong and efficient. While this compact demands the surrender of a certain portion of our natural and moral liberty, in order that the remainder may be more securely enjoyed, there is a sacrifice to which it has no claim, and which no man would choose to make for any consideration, and that is—the rights of conscience, so far as religion is concerned—the liberty of worshipping God, and of seeking future happiness according to the dictates of his own heart and understanding. That is a right over which human power ought to have no control: a sacred trust for which he is responsible to God alone, and according to the use of which, his future destiny will be irrevocably fixed. The matter rests entirely between God and his own heart, without any intervening power to relieve him of his obligation, by forcing upon him one creed instead of another.

Religious liberty, then, is a sacred and an un-

alienable right, of which he cannot legitimately denude himself in his initiatory concessions, and which cannot be wrested from him without doing violence to the designs of Providence in the established nature and order of things. This then is the obvious state of the case, in so far as the mere abstract principle is concerned, and unconnected with any local or artificial combination of circumstances.

But in making up our minds upon the question, we must look beyond the mere principle or basis upon which it rests. We must view it in all its relations and bearings, as well as in the probable and practical results which, situated as we are, the full attainment of the object would produce.

In short, we must inquire whether that bulwark which our fathers raised, and which was necessary in troublesome times for the preservation of the reformed religion and of civil liberty, is now to be thrown down? Whether times and circumstances are now so changed, as to render it safe and expedient to put the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, Protestants and Papists, exactly on the same footing, alike eligible to every office, and admissible to every political advantage?

In conducting this inquiry, we must in a great measure lose sight of the abstract point of right,

or strict moral justice theoretically considered, and take for our guide, state necessity or political justice, which are nearly synonymous terms. For the most scrupulous Cabinet will consider it just and right to provide against danger, as well as to meet it with firmness and courage. Ours ordered the seizure of the Danish fleet and of the Spanish frigates as a measure of deep expediency at the time; and if we had taken possession of the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz in 1802, as a trust or pledge, the battle of Trafalgar would not have been fought, and many a brave man would have been spared for the future service and glory of his country.

At the time of the penal enactments against popery, the empire was divided into two great parties, not very far from being equally balanced, if we stake rank against numbers. Before the Reformation there was but one, whose intolerant and persecuting spirit had long suppressed freedom of thought and energy of mind. But after that ray of light had shone upon our land, bold and enlightened men, turning from an alliance with deception and error, joined the standard of a new and a purer faith; and increasing in numbers and in strength, the Protestants, in time, acquired the ascendency, and fearlessly erected the reformed church and the fabric of civil liberty on the ruins of that colossal

power by which the nation had long been subjugated. It was not to be supposed that the defeated party would patiently endure the loss of influence and of wealth. No: The appetite for power and sensual indulgence continued strong and harassing, and frequently instigated to the execution of plots that threatened to involve the country in misery and ruin. The Protestants were now loudly called upon to protect the fruits of their labours, and to rear the precious offspring through the perils of infancy to the strength and maturity of manhood. To effectuate this, they had only one choice left. They had to weaken and disable their opponents, and thus render them unfit for any future hostility of a formidable nature. Tests, oaths of abjuration and supremacy, and political disabilities, were resorted to as the only means of preserving the public tranquillity. The spirit which dictated these strong precautionary measures, prepared the way for the revolution, when a Protestant Prince was placed upon the British throne, and when the nations and government became purely constitutional and Protestant, to the exclusion of any interference from the ancient order of things. The coronation oath was like the key-stone to this great political arch, which knit the whole together into one great consolidated mass.

As might be imagined, the Catholic interest *felt* the grievance, and struggled hard for relief. The case was taken into consideration, and relief was extended so far as the nature and circumstances of the times would permit. The parties became gradually cooler and more moderate. The sentiments of men, with regard to religion, became more liberal and enlightened, and the bond of social union was beginning to receive within its sacred pale, with much less reserve, Christians of all confessions, the adherents of the old and of the reformed religion. In this improved and charitable state of things, further immunities were granted, which seemed most satisfactory at the time, and which was considered as the extreme boundary of Parliamentary indulgence. The great body of the Protestant population thought the boon too much, and as calculated to endanger both civil and religious liberty. An insurrectionary spirit was excited in many places, and more especially in the metropolis; and much judgment and energy were necessary to prevent consequences of the most disastrous nature. The storm gradually subsided, and seemed at last to have died away.

But after an interval of no great duration, the Catholics again became fretful, and anxious to be relieved from the few remaining restrictions,

which it was deemed prudent still to impose. Great exertions were made to bring the question once more under review of the legislature, and to obtain for it a favourable hearing. Twice was the battle fought with nearly equal strength and numbers, and as often did the friends of emancipation sustain a defeat. Had even the previous point been carried, it is uncertain to what extent the indulgence would have been granted; whether to the removing of all disabilities, or only to some modification, to render their pressure less sensibly felt. Any thing short of a repeal, full and complete, would have been spurned at by the petitioners, who now felt their strength, and whose feelings were wrought up to a high degree of excitement and hope. It is even uncertain whether a Popish Lord Chancellor—a Popish Prime Minister—a Popish Commander-in-Chief—Popish Judges—and a Popish third of the British Parliament, would have fully answered their expectations. But would such a sweeping measure have been safe? Would it have been honest? Would the guardians of those rights which our fathers transmitted, as a sacred and dear-bought legacy to us, and to our children, have been justified in a concession by which it would be so evidently endangered? But where is the risk, say the advocates of unlimited

toleration? Are not the Catholics alike sensible to the blessings of a well constituted government, and what inducement could they have to disturb it? And if any of their number should be found hostile to it, is not the executive arm strong enough to punish the disobedient and the disaffected? All this is true, and in ordinary cases would carry with it a considerable degree of weight. But the case we are discussing is not an ordinary case. It is not a case in which a person is to be considered as entitled to the possession of all his just rights until he is convicted of something by which that claim is forfeited. No: It is one of a certain proportion of British subjects, who, having lost the power, were compelled to submit to the majority, and to accept of such terms as were deemed essential to the public tranquillity. It is the case of a remnant of the Catholic Church, still under the control of a hierarchy, which yet continues to exert its sway over all the members of that church, in all countries, and under all governments. The case being thus of a peculiar nature, it must be treated in a suitable and an appropriate manner. The bigotry and intolerance of Popery are not the only evils which we have to guard against. To these we must join the effects of papal influence and authority, at once acknowledged and acted

upon. Here then is a formidable combination against the Protestant interest, the spirit of the religion, or rather of the ecclesiastical policy, and the absolute power and jurisdiction of the church. Indeed the one is identified with the other; and spiritual thraldom is the natural and necessary consequence of both. And are no precautions necessary in such a case as this? Even in Catholic countries it might be prudent to modify the interference of Papal influence, and to weaken the effect of that deadening charm upon the minds of the people. But in a Protestant State, in all respects situated as we are, it is indispensably requisite to watch the movements of a domination, so intrinsically hostile to our dearest interests, and to render it as harmless as possible. We are called upon to do this, on account of the danger that may result from a divided allegiance, from the interference of an ambitious power that would spare no pains to rob us of our costly privileges, and to reduce us to a state of mental degradation and weakness. Could we suppose that a cause, which involved in it a question of religious right between the two parties, coming before a Popish Lord Chief Justice of England, would be most likely to have a fair and candid examination? Or that the Popish head of our Naval or Military department would make every ne-

cessary exertion to support a Protestant interest, in opposition to the temper and feelings of his own church? We must take human nature as it really is, as it has been, and as it will be: and after the last concession has been made, we may yet see a Jeffries in the seat of judgment, alike reckless of blood and of justice; and a Duke of York, intrepid only when opposed to the friends of liberty and of the reformed religion. The same implication of party-spirit will not apply to the heads of departments of the Protestant faith. They are under no authority but that of the State; and the greater the ascendency of religion, the more will they be detached from all policy and Priestcraft, and the better fitted for the faithful discharge of their duty.

But the head of the Church, with the keys of St. Peter in the one hand, and the sceptre of civil power in the other, must constitute a rallying point to which the eye of the true Catholic will be devoutly turned—an oracular authority from which he will receive, at least, the most efficient counsel for the regulation of his conduct. He is ready to swear allegiance to the King as a temporal ruler; but to the Pope he vows spiritual submission; and, from the well-known power of superstition and religious bigotry over the human mind, we may rest satisfied, that it is rather a constrained submission

which he yields, when not entirely consonant with the views of his spiritual leader. For instance, let the Pope again promote a combination among Catholic powers for the suppression of the Protestant faith;—let a Catholic Armada, animated by his benediction, with the consecrated rose waving on its banners, and fraught with anathemas, and excommunications, and all the thunders of the Vatican, ready to be poured out on our devoted heads, be once more set in array against us, would not his patriotism be shaken, and his allegiance be more than divided, yea, almost brought to flow in one channel with the enemies of his country? The spiritual jurisdiction would to a certainty prove an overmatch for any abstract principle of political obligation, and attach to its standard the readiest and strongest feelings of his nature.

But it is stated by the advocates for emancipation, that the Committee of Inquiry found no evidence that the See of Rome had any ascendency over Catholics in other countries, except in things more immediately connected with doctrine and discipline; and that any interference with the rights of subjects, or with matters purely political, would be disregarded by the Church. It would indeed be very gratifying to me, and to my feelings of respect for the rights and privileges of our common nature,

if I could view the bond of union in the same guarded and circumscribed shape, and advocate the Catholic claims upon the same principle. But, notwithstanding a strong pre-disposition to civil and religious liberty, I could not, in examining the report of the Committee, divest myself of an impression, that there was more understood in the declarations of the witnesses than was actually expressed; and that, whenever a question was put, which pressed close upon the precise limits of papal jurisdiction, the answer was in terms of great caution and reserve. In a word, adverse as I am to religious intolerance, I could not bring myself to believe, even from the showing of the parties themselves, that the papal power was so carefully or judiciously defined, as that its free and uncontrolled exercise would not be constituting an *imperium in imperio*, and thus facilitating the introduction of a foreign influence, which might prove highly detrimental to the peace and prosperity of the State.

I sincerely regret the impression that was forced upon my mind, and were I to give way merely to the impulse of a benevolent feeling, I would suggest the propriety of making an experiment of trying how far the last concession would go, in giving a permanent tranquillity to the Catholic population of the British Empire.

But, alas! if the experiment failed, how were we to retrace our steps? And that it would fail, I have a sorrowful presage in my own breast, a foreboding of still more daring claims being yet to be made than prudence and policy have ventured to bring into view. Rescind the penal enactments—place all parties upon a footing, and you would still find the Romish Hierarchy, from a spirit inherent in its very nature, grasping at something, even at the shadow of its ancient greatness. And while there was yet any thing to be attained, any thing that could lead to further aggrandizement, that restless and ambitious power would feel dissatisfied, and find little difficulty in hood-winking or misleading even the better disposed of its party, and forming a powerful combination in support of its views, both temporal and spiritual.

Nothing but a well-grounded apprehension of fearful consequences could compel me to suggest the expediency of not yet removing all political restraint, of withholding the smallest portion of our dearest blessings from my fellow-subjects composing the Catholic population. While I revere the rights of conscience, and glory in the enjoyment, and in the extension of civil and religious liberty, I would also interpose the salûtary checks, which peculiar cir-

cumstances might render necessary, for preventing the loss or abuse of so choice a blessing. The more precious the gift, the more requisite it is for us to be careful of preserving it. But let the necessary restraint be managed with a skilful and a tender hand, and as much delicacy and discretion as possible be observed in all matters, but more especially in those that bear more immediately upon the great line of distinction, and which may too sensibly remind our Catholic brethren of the contrast between former and latter times. So long as they demean themselves as good subjects, they are entitled to kind and conciliatory treatment, and may, at some future day, have a right to draw upon the liberality of a grateful country. Such also are evidently the views of the majority of the British Government, and so far as we are able to judge, they are founded upon wise and just principles, equally well calculated to preserve the rights and promote the happiness of the people.

The next feature in our domestic policy most deserving of our attention is, the attempt to establish a free trade, to relieve it of its burdens to a certain extent, and thus to cherish a spirit of enterprise, as well as a facility of intercourse among the nations. Surely no liberal minded person can object to this, were it even to be at-

tended for a time with considerable inconveniency. The introduction of such a system has been for many years loudly called for. That the lessening of duty would not eventually diminish the revenue, and that monopolies of every kind were injurious and incompatible with the present state of things, had often rung in the ears of the ministry, but in vain. The former Chancellor of the Exchequer, along with some others of the late Cabinet, seemed as adverse to any political innovation, as the Romish Church was to a belief in the Copernican system. Every thing appeared to him and his colleagues to be in its own place, and to be answering all its purposes, while it remained immoveably fixed without the power of having its *vis inertiæ* affected by any possible impulse. It was reserved for the enlightened Statesmen now at the head of the several departments, to break through the trammels of prescription and prejudice, and to place commerce in a state better adapted to this advanced era of light and knowledge. Its former situation might have accorded with the jealous and hostile propensities of an early age, or been less repulsive to narrow and unsusceptible minds. But how preposterous, to take as our commercial standard the legislative enactments, for instance, of Henry the Eighth, of Elizabeth, or of Cromwell?—the

two first, jealous, unfeeling tyrants;—the last, an usurper and a fanatic. Is it consistent with common sense, that, at this day, when the public mind is advancing so rapidly in its attainments, we should labour to impede its progress, by keeping up those rude and formidable bulwarks which were erected in a superstitious and tyrannical age? Or, that we should allow any part of our institutions, whether sacred or civil, which, from its nature, is improvable and progressive, to remain untouched and stationary, and in a form as little adapted to our present situation, as a Russian ukase, or a firman from the sublime Porte? No: While the fabric in outline and dimensions continues unaltered, with all its venerable buttresses, towers, and battlements, the internal arrangements may be new modelled, and fitted up more agreeably to the modern style of comfort and elegance. The small grated windows, the narrow stair-case, the secret passages, the confined apartments, the massive doors and bars, which were so necessary in times of feudal jealousy and usurpation, may now be done away, and the whole interior arranged and finished on a more liberal and enlarged scale. The narrow and suspicious policy that stamped a littleness of character on all municipal proceedings respecting social or national intercourse some

centuries ago, is not to be practised in the settled tranquillity, and in the well defined and constitutional expansion and freedom of the present day. The commercial code that contained little else than prohibitory or penal enactments, the natural effects of a suspicious and arbitrary power, is not to be the rule of our conduct at this enlightened period, when the rights of all parties are so well understood, and so powerfully guarded; and when international confidence and communication are protected and encouraged, not only by the faith of treaties, but by that honourable feeling and good will to one another, which so highly distinguish the great branches of the European commonwealth. No: The commercial buildings must be altered. The chambers must be made larger and lighter. The gratings must be removed from the windows. The suspicious concealments and dark retreats, perhaps of guilt and fear, must be thrown open, and added to the stately hall or the magnificent saloon. The stair-case must be rendered more spacious and easy; and the access to the whole more inviting; else the stranger whose mind is enlarged, and whose taste is cultivated, will feel no kind of attraction, but naturally seek to be received in a way more suited to the improvement of modern times. Such accommodations may be

furnished, and such a gracious reception may be given by other nations—by the great American republics, new and old—by some of our neighbours, who may be observing the signs of the times, and whose enterprise has been necessarily excited; and we may be left with our baronial castle, to ruminate on our fallen greatness, in darkness and solitude. But we will not suffer a want of kindness and hospitality to banish from us our neighbours and our friends. No: The building must be repaired, arranged, and fitted up, agreeably to the present style, so as to invite attention and intercourse. But it is necessary that a great master builder be employed to perform so arduous a task; to lay out the interior in all the capaciousness and splendour of modern taste; and at the same time to preserve the massy pillars, the strong arches, the antique outline, and all the external defences of the superstructure. Such an able artist has been found in the President of the Board of Trade. He is undoubtedly well qualified to execute the undertaking. He has already put his hand to the work, by not only laying before the public his proposed plan, which he did in a manner the most powerful and convincing, but by commencing actual operations, and putting to trial the first of his intended amendments. As might have been

expected, and as was certainly foreseen, the experiment produced considerable agitation. The manufacturer in the particular line of trial was filled with dismay. Having been long accustomed to an exclusive trade, and defended by prohibitory duties, he could not endure the thought that *it* should now be laid open, and that the road to success should only be practicable to superior merit and exertion. The appalled and actionless state in which he remained for some time, suffered the trade to languish, and subjected multitudes of the workmen to the most painful necessities. To aggravate the case still more, the French availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of stocking our market with their goods, even at the risk of considerable loss, hoping thereby to engross the supply, and to be compensated for their sacrifice at a future period. This increased the stagnation, and want of employment with us; and involved the foreign trade in embarrassments little inferior to what we have experienced at home. So that, what with the langour or stupor of astonishment, and the immediate prospect of a glut by the importation from France, even at a considerable loss, our silk manufacturers have for a time been thrown idle, and of course assailed with want. All this was foreseen and calculated upon by

Mr. Huskisson. Instead of being taken by surprise, he was aware of the concussion. He predicted it, and the temporary inconveniences that were to arise from it; and he promised reparation and encouragement in the future prosperity of the trade, after the new system had been fairly put to the test. The panic, real or pretended, the chief cause of the evil, was certainly unreasonable and mischievous. Was it fair or equitable that the silk trade should continue exclusively in the hands of a few men, and that the public should be condemned to go to these men for all articles in silk, and be at their mercy both for the quality and the price? Is it agreeable to reason, that monopolies of any kind should exist? that chartered companies, or exclusive commercial rights should be still hanging like a millstone about our necks, crushing our enterprise, and abridging our comforts? These were the offspring of tyranny, and of a rude state of society. They originated in times when the Monarch had no fixed sources of revenue, when he was forced to have recourse to the sale of charters and privileges to fill his coffers, perhaps for the purpose of diminishing the power of his nobles, or of subjugating the people, when a few spirited individuals had the command of the shipping, and were sometimes bribed by the Sovereign to go out in quest of

adventure, and to plant colonies, by a promise of investiture, which was to aggrandize them, and to descend as a birthright to their posterity.

We have had ample experience of this in our own country. Elizabeth, in order to raise a marine, and to convince the Porte that England was not a province of France, bestowed chartered rights and privileges on several commercial bodies, for trading to Russia, to the Levant, and to India. As our merchants in that infancy of commerce had few excitements and formidable competitors, it was the more necessary to incorporate them as chartered companies, to encourage them to risk their capitals in a hazardous speculation, and to enable them to prosecute their object with any degree of vigour or success. But after the child acquired the strength of riper years, it was not necessary to give it any longer the hand or the go-cart. After the national enterprise had burst asunder all the swaddlings that might have kept it firm in its weakness, and had led to the accumulation of wealth, and to high rank in the commercial world, it was certainly ludicrous to attempt to retain the youth at the mother's breast, and still to attempt to bandage it down to its original form. Monopoly is not suited to the rivalry, the genius, the extension of the commercial spirit at the present day, when all

unnecessary restraint and pressure should be withdrawn, and it left to its own vigorous efforts to pursue the road to opulence and distinction. There are certain lines of action, and trade is one of them, in which it is better not to apply any extraneous force to the current of public exertion, but to leave it to find its own level, and to rise and fall according to existing circumstances. If it be disturbed or interfered with in its natural course, it may either become sluggish, or impetuous; alike unfitted to move, or to keep in equable motion, the complicated machinery upon which it has to act. *That* monopolies are the offspring of a rude state of society, we have only to turn our eye to such a state, whether ancient or modern, and there we shall see them in all their native force, mostly in the hands of the Prince, and farmed out by him to retainers and favourites. We can trace them through almost all similar stages of civilization, from the days of Pharaoh, down to the Sheik of the Arabs, or the Dey of Algiers.

That they are mischievous in their effects, we have just to look at their history to be convinced of the fact. How often was it in the power of the imperial factors to sport with the necessities of the Roman people, and to employ the granaries of Egypt, of Sicily, and Carthage, as the means only of enriching themselves? Has

not a modern republic followed the example, and rather than not squeeze from the consumer the most exorbitant prices for its spiceries, has it not often enhanced their value, by actually destroying what was considered as a redundant increase? What miseries did the Gabelle in France inflict upon the people, and even upon the throne? And Charles the First, after a painful struggle, which sowed the seeds of much bitterness betwixt him and his Parliament, was obliged to give up his right to salt and soap, and other articles of equal necessity, and to render them more subservient to the exigencies of his people. The greatest mercantile corporation in the world contributes its share also to the general odium, and almost gives the finishing stroke to that picture of deformity which the monopolizing system may have presented to our view. That a chartered body, which originated more than two hundred years ago, should, at this period of unequalled light, and wealth, and enterprise, be possessed of an exclusive right nearly to all the trade, and power, and patronage, of the East; that it should retain in its own hands the undisturbed privilege of regulating the prices of the produce of those rich and extensive regions, by withholding or affording the supply as cupidity or caprice may dictate; thus, as it were enforcing

a compliance with its exactions, however unreasonable or oppressive—is altogether an anomaly in the history of modern improvements. Like the strong, dark tower of some aged misanthrope, it lifts up its unseemly form in an age of unexampled politeness, and frowns defiance at all the liberality, the elegance, and taste of the present day. It is no wonder that our enlightened Statesmen should have seen the necessity of beginning to clear away these obstructive and gloomy relics of ancient times. They saw the evil in all its magnitude, and they boldly came forward and commenced their remedial operations. Some discouraging circumstances occurred at the outset. Those which were unforeseen, and which proceeded from causes unconnected with the reform in view, threw their operations for a little into the shade. The loss of credit, of confidence, the explosion of a thousand visionary schemes, which had drained the money off from the natural channels; the universal panic, which paralyzed the very vitals of commerce, and which came like a thunder-clap, affected and deformed the character of their best concerted plans in the eyes of the desponding, who, in their gloomy moments, could see no cause so likely to bring about the present catastrophe. The attention of the Ministers was immediately diverted from their original object,

to find out palliatives and preventives in this unexpected emergency. Something has been done, and more is in contemplation. Things are already wearing a more favourable aspect. But it is extremely questionable, whether much ministerial or parliamentary interference would be attended with much good. Artificial excitements should be applied as seldom as possible. If the constitution be good, and under proper regimen, it will work off all impurities by its own native vigour; and, if otherwise, an alterative course is the best. Yes: When the disease is not constitutional, it may effect its own cure; and it is not unpropitious to the preservation of health, that local or temporary affections should now and then occur, to carry off the corrupt humours, and to lead to greater care and circumspection for the time to come. The recent disorder which threatened the dissolution of trade was perhaps necessary to purify the commercial system, and to prevent a repetition of those liberties which had been taken with it, and consequently a recurrence of the evils arising therefrom. It is empiricism in politics to attempt to cure every thing, whether it be a boil or a blister, by legislative enactments. The cure then might in the end become worse than the disease.

Tampering too often with the circulating me-

dium, either by altering its nature or extent, cannot, in my humble opinion, be attended with any good effect. This is a vital delicate part, and like the lungs in the human body, the less it is compressed or disturbed so much the better. After the English banking system has passed through such a severe ordeal, and clearly shown its constitutional frailties, by being reduced nearly to a state of dissolution, it is not likely that it will be re-constructed upon the same erroneous principles, or that the hazardous speculation in the practical department, and which greatly contributed to its downfall, will be again resorted to. Such a perseverance in fault, after so dear bought an experience, would be more extraordinary than the unlimited confidence which was attached to fictitious capitals, and to an excessive paper circulation; evils which existed to a great degree, but which *now* will be more strictly inquired into and guarded against. When credit and confidence are again restored, we may anticipate the return of a renovated vigour, and of that soundness of health over the whole system, which are the necessary results of such a thorough depletion, and of a care and circumspection arising most naturally out of pre-existent circumstances. Long experience and much practical knowledge are necessary to put an incorrect system of banking

upon a proper footing. Nor is the alteration most likely to be useful from its being effected speedily, or by any effort of power. No: It must be brought about by the progressive application of the most improved theories, and of much practical knowledge, that can avail itself of the past, and accommodate its extensive acquirements to times and circumstances.

Instead therefore of any political constraining influence, might it not be advisable to wait the issue of the present agitation, to leave the money market to find its own level, and the banking system to collect from its ruins whatever may be requisite to form a more substantial and permanent building? And it would be strange indeed if the builders were again to employ the materials which had so recently proved subversive of the former superstructure. Men generally learn wisdom and caution from experiencing the sad effects of their past errors.

The Scotch banks have been long distinguished for the confidence which they inspired, and for the credit which they have hitherto, with a very few exceptions, uniformly preserved. Among other reasons which can be assigned for this very enviable distinction, may we not state, their complete disentanglement from all political control, whether as proceeding more directly from Government itself, or through the secret

agency of some of its more powerful and highly favoured instruments. And if such a cause has operated in this way, may we not reasonably infer, that legislative interference now would be productive of inconveniency and mischief? As they have thriven so well and so long in their free, unfettered state, and as they have been the means of raising a country naturally poor and unfavourable to a high degree of opulence and commercial rank, let them alone. Let them go on in their own way to sustain that character which they have already acquired, and to promote the comfort and prosperity of our people. Although, from recent occurrences, an interposing arm may appear necessary to remedy the disorders in the English system; although the excessive issue of paper from the country banks may have tended to depreciate the value of money, and to originate those innumerable wild speculations which have involved them in so much disaster; yet no necessity can yet be pled for applying the same restraining power to our banking establishment. From all that can yet be perceived, it seems to be in a state of unimpaired health and vigour, and the application of remedies, especially of a powerful operation, in such a state, would be attempting to remove an imaginary evil, at the risk of inflicting a real one. The withdrawing of small notes from our

circulation would not be an absolute preventive against the evil which is feared, a too great redundancy of paper. For our banks, during the intervening space of a few years, before the proposed interdiction is to take effect, would contrive to make a proportionable addition to their stock of large paper, even to the full extent of their credit, and thus have very little less of the paper currency in circulation than formerly. *Besides*, the measure would be attended with much inconveniency to the lower ranks of the community, and to all the lower departments of trade; so that it would both be inefficient as a preventive, as well as fraught with much positive embarrassment and loss to those who could least afford it.

I forbear, however, saying more on this particular branch of the subject. Much has already been said and written; perhaps more than was required. It was highly proper that the case, as far as regarded Scotland, should have been fairly and fully stated, and then its merits might have been safely entrusted to the superior discrimination and wisdom of his Majesty's Government. But instead of that, every hand has been lifted up, and the cry from every quarter has been raised by a kind of contagious sympathy, as if the avenging sword had been stretched over our heads, to smite without

mercy the innocent along with the guilty. This is not, thank God, our situation. We are in the hands of able, conscientious men, who will not be swayed by any consideration to betray, for a single moment, the trust which is committed to them.

Before taking leave of a topic which has occasioned so much discussion and alarm, it may not be superfluous to observe, that the desire, naturally excited by the proposed restriction, to supply in great measure the place of small with large notes, would have a certain degree of tendency to induce banks to pursue this course even beyond their depth, and thus to be borne down by that influx of large paper to which they would at times be subjected. While the small notes travel a wide course, and are long in finding their way back to the parent bank, the large ones, as being of a less accommodating nature, would be more quickly returned and converted into cash. So that, between the desire to issue abundance of paper, and the danger of not being able to meet the demand by an adequate supply of specie, the Scotch banks would be placed in a situation of fretfulness and uncertainty to which they have been totally unaccustomed. Although they have not hitherto yielded to the temptation, yet, taking human nature as it really is, it is better

not to throw too much of it in their way, lest, as in all like cases, the danger may be risked for an uncertain or a momentary gratification. And it surely is the great duty of Legislators and Statesmen to diminish the motive as well as the power to do evil—to prevent crimes as well as to punish them. In this point of view, then, how inconsistent would it be, on the part of our Rulers, to extend the restrictive enactment to Scotland, and thus to strengthen those very passions which they ought rather to chasten and to subdue? This would be losing sight of all moral responsibility, to say no more, by throwing aside that paternal care which they are in duty bound to exercise towards all the children of the State. Were the stock of large notes to be increased, in proportion to the *small* now in circulation, only to one-half of the value, which would most undoubtedly be the consequence of the new regulation, what an immense additional run would this make upon the banks, and how soon might it be the means of affecting their credit, and involving them in ruin? Banks in the metropolis, or in large towns, having all the advantages of the most efficient agency, of the earliest intelligence, and of the greatest facilities in the despatch of business, might contrive to be always prepared for exchanging their paper. But how is this to be

effected so steadily in remote, and, for nearly five months of the year, almost inaccessible districts? And it is in these distant precluded quarters, where the herring fisheries are deeply embarked in, and where large cattle and sheep trysts are established for the supply of the south country dealers, that banks are of the most essential service. If they are provincial, what chance is there that they would be able to stand their ground under a pressure of demand; in short, that so far removed from the fountain-head, and so insulated as to the great mercantile world, they could always have cash enough to meet the sudden or unforeseen emergency? The sum requisite in lieu of the small notes, and for giving in exchange for the others, which might be returned upon them occasionally in great numbers, would be such as they could not always have at command; and thence their credit might be impaired, and their existence endangered. This would be a great hardship on poor sequestered regions just beginning to emerge into mercantile life and activity, and which stand in need of all the indulgence, of all the fostering care that can be exercised towards them. Nothing has contributed more to rouse their torpid powers, and to give them renewed vigour, than the establishing of banks within, as it may be said, their rugged and formidable barrier.

These are the sources whence they have derived the stimulus to exertion, the very means and necessaries of their commercial existence. Deprive them of these, or reduce the banks to the necessity of affording more stinted and wary supplies, and you starve your commerce, just at a time when its juvenile powers were ready to expand into the full vigour of manhood, and again spread inaction and barbarism over these naturally sterile and gloomy regions.

But I anticipate no such melancholy result. Having full reliance in our Rulers, I have no fear. They have done much to merit our confidence, and to inspire us with the hope that we will yet rise, under their auspicious administration, to greater national glory than ever we have yet attained. I would only request them not to apply parliamentary remedies to every disease, whether it be constitutional or a mere sanitary effort of nature. Let nature work its own cure, and, if left to itself, it will, in most instances, be successful in throwing off all its morbid humours, and in restoring the whole system to soundness and energy; and its purifying and restorative efforts of late have been so powerful and salutary, that we may now expect a much longer track of uninterrupted national health than ever we have yet enjoyed. The disease has been deeper and of greater ex-

tent than any thing we have yet experienced. But after all the diseased parts have been cleared away, there is the greater chance that the vital functions will have a longer period of pure and undisturbed exercise. According to a distinguished periodical writer, "The speculating "mania would seem by its periodical revolu- "tions to be a sort of centenary remittent. In "the former part of the seventeenth century, "alchymy and all its concomitant projects were "in full vigour; in the commencement of the "eighteenth century, the South Sea bubble, and "a hundred wild projects, were abroad; and we "see what the early part of the nineteenth is "daily producing." I would fain hope that the next intermittent fit will now be put off till a much more distant period, and that the constitution will now have a long course of renovated health and strength. The rage for alchymy could scarcely be said to be attended with any national affliction. The speculation had an apparent wildness of character, but it contained the elements of a science that has since been prosecuted with success, and that has largely contributed to the comfort and elegance of civilized life. The South Sea bubble was of a commercial nature, and it certainly was productive of the most disastrous effects. And if a century of soberness and reflection has intervened,

may we not suppose that a period will now elapse, of an extent proportioned to the more intense suffering to which we have been subjected in our times of recent distress.

But without applying geometrical precision to the supposed salutary operation of certain political or moral evils, we may readily compound once more for the century, and conclude without more ado, that in the lapse of a hundred years we shall have our periodical attack, so useful for clearing away all the stagnant humours, and for restoring the system to a proper tone of excitement and action. This regular visitation of mad and destructive speculation may be as corrective to the commercial, as a fit of gout is to the human body; and, by inducing habits of temperance and chastened enterprise, it may ultimately lead to a more uninterrupted enjoyment of national health and prosperity. While the exercise of patience and forbearance is necessary in treating occasional disorders in the commercial world, and which arise often from an exuberance of growth or stature in commercial attainments, another and a more active spirit is to be exerted in conducting the general system, and in accommodating it to the progressive expansion and improvement of modern times. This spirit has already manifested itself in the most laudable attempts to re-

duce to practice the general theory of a free trade.. The scheme has not only been proposed, and ably and irresistibly developed, but an experiment has been made, which, it is to be hoped, will lead to the prosecution of the great plan, and to a final relief from all those oppressive restrictions and burdens which have been alike injurious to trade, and to the gratification and comfort of the people.

The next step in the plan, I believe, is the revision and amendment of the Corn Laws. As the thing was proposed, and comes within the limits of the liberalizing project, it ought not to be lost sight of. Ministers should be faithful to their promise, and firm in the prosecution of their views and schemes. In this way, they inspire with confidence in their integrity, and with a greater reliance on their wisdom. The reason why these effects are produced is perfectly obvious. For a person must prove himself to be trust-worthy before he can hope for any considerable share of it. He must be in the habit of keeping his word, before his veracity can be established. He must show by his steadiness and perseverance in following out what he has coolly and deliberately laid down, that his plan has not been rashly gone into, and as rashly deserted, but is the patient result of time and reflection. If, in our subordinate,

individual capacities, we perceive the necessity of taking certain preliminary steps to gain the confidence of our neighbours and friends, how much more incumbent is it on those who have to administer the government, and to support the majesty of a great empire, to appear deserving of that high trust, by a constant illustration, as it were, of those great qualities, whether of head or heart, which will ever ensure the respect and veneration of the people?

If a purpose of doing good, and that is the ostensible object of every wise purpose, is to be abandoned, it ought to be done, not *sub silentio*, as if the reasons were not fit to be seen; but in an open and manly way, with a frank acknowledgment of the unforeseen grounds on which the more recent conviction had been founded. A mode of procedure at once so candid, and so indicative of a great mind, could not fail to ensure confidence and esteem. And such is the line of conduct we would expect from those to whom the administration of affairs is committed. Too able and enlightened to adopt any measure precipitately, it is not to be supposed that they will be easily compelled to recede from their purpose; and, if such a crisis should occur, we have every reason to believe that they would not hesitate a moment to state their convictions, yea, even to acknowledge their errors, if their

judgments should have been misled. From the illustration and defence of the new system, an *exposé* unparalleled for its power and effect, there is little reason to think that the views were hastily taken up, or that they will be dropt tamely, or without a trial. It must be confessed that the step next in order is a critical one, and that to do justice to all parties, every possible effort of political wisdom is necessary. The two great parties concerned in this question of the corn laws are—the growers and the consumers. Those who have their income from the cultivation of the soil, and those who derive it from trade and manufacture. In a word, they may be said to comprehend between them, with the exception of the army and navy, and the learned professions, nearly the whole inhabitants of the British empire. With regard to the merits of their respective claims, much has been said and written, and a few additional well meant observations on the subject, however unsatisfactory, will not occupy very much of our time at present.

It were to be wished that the parties already mentioned had interest less separate, and less apparently hostile to one another. That they should consider themselves as mutually indebted to each other—the one for the comforts, the other for the necessaries of life. Standing upon

such a footing of reciprocity, without any intervening cause to disturb the friendly relation, they might naturally live together without rancour or jealousy, just as persons of the same community pursuing different crafts, and all tending to the public good. Were things to flow in this natural, easy course, there would be no room or reason for complaint. The Manufacturer would estimate the prosperity of agriculture as favourable to his own trade, in opening a better market, and of course increasing his sales and prices. And the Agriculturist again would also see his additional profits in the diffusion of greater wealth among his consumers, for enabling them to use more of his produce, and to give more for it. In a word, all would cheerfully contribute to the general good, and find their advantage in doing so, even as the members of one body, subservient to general purposes, and mutually aiding and assisting each other. Every thing, then, that has a tendency to prevent this universal relationship, by detaching the one party from the other, or by dissolving the ties of mutual amity and good feeling, should be carefully avoided. The existing jealousy and discontent are confined chiefly to one of the parties, to those who have to purchase their food; and the reasons are obvious. If the farmer should find articles of

apparel, especially so far as luxury is concerned, to be of a disproportionate value, he has only to purchase fewer of them, and not to trouble his head farther about the exactions and profits of the seller. But when a person has to purchase for himself and his family all the necessaries of life, the rate at which this is to be done becomes to him an object of the deepest importance.

It is not optional with him, whether he is to retrench in proportion as the price rises. He has perhaps economized as much as the necessity of the case would admit; and when his means actually become inadequate to the demand, his feelings then may be more easily conceived than described. Without due consideration, he fixes upon the proximate cause as the most guilty, and hence transfers to the farmer the whole odium of causing scarcity and dearth. He is assisted in his hasty attachment of blame as the first resentful expression of an irritated mind, by the repulsive aspect of those protecting duties which have been imposed for the benefit of the growers, and which exclude him from the chance of ever eating his bread at a cheap rate. Such a feeling, in such circumstances, is not unnatural. The cravings of hunger are not like the solicitations of pride and fashion. They bear more forcibly upon our mental excite-

ments, and when disappointed or sported with, they at once execrate the gains of avarice, or gains which may have been extorted from necessity and want. This I say is not unnatural in such an aggravated state of the case. For let the grower and the consumer exchange situations, and you would soon find also an exchange of character—the latter as greedy of gain, although at the expense of suffering humanity, and the former as bitter against the immediate instruments of his oppression, as if *they* had never thought or felt differently. Human nature is the same in all similar situations and circumstances; and thence it is easier to calculate upon the obvious results, and to find out a salutary application to the general case. The healing, or rather the managing art, is then founded on a careful inspection into the principles of human nature, and into those uniform effects which are as naturally produced in like circumstances.

Having such practical experimental data to go by, it is less difficult for our Statesmen to conduct the great national machine, and to keep all the parts in unison, and in a state of mutual subserviency. Knowing that certain causes will uniformly produce certain effects, that measures of a prohibitory nature for the exclusive benefit of some, at the expense of

others, will be obnoxious to the injured party, they are undoubtedly called upon to take steps for remedying the evil, and for establishing that reciprocal feeling of kindness and confidence, which ought to exist in every well ordered society.

The corn laws, in their present shape, are unquestionably to be viewed, not only as a probable, but as an actual source of jealousy and irritation. When the manufacturer or mechanic is laying down the price of his loaf, the uneasy sensation at once comes across his mind that he is taxed for this necessary of life, and that this tax is for the exclusive benefit of those who have an interest in land, and who wish to prevent him from ever purchasing the first necessary of life upon easy terms. This feeling, not very grateful at any time, must be less so when he is labouring under pecuniary difficulties, arising from low wages, or the want of employment, and when the price of provisions is high. And while trade and manufactures are subject to such vicissitudes as we have sadly experienced, the painful feeling is but too often kept awake, and even stretched to its utmost intensity.

To apply some remedy then to this distempered state of things, is both politic and humane, were it only to tranquillize the mind, and

to render it more reconciled to the Government, and to all classes of the community. And it is in vain to expect that any change so favourable will ever be effected so long as the obnoxious cause is allowed to operate; so long as corn is under the prohibitory restriction. Circumstances will occur but too often to feed the flame, which is in a constant state of activity, and which may in time consume those loyal, patriotic, social feelings and affections, which ought to be the first care of the rulers of a country to cherish and strengthen. It has long been impressed upon my mind, that the disturbed state of society which, of late years, has sometimes manifested itself, is to be ascribed to that deep-rooted grudge, which the prohibitory enactment of eighteen hundred and fifteen had engendered in the breasts of the people. In illustration of this, we have to observe the change of object against which the public animosity has been directed for some time past. Antecedent to the above period, the fury of a meal mob was wreaked upon the farmer and the corn dealer. But since that time, the Government has come in for a principal share of the odium; and it is well known, wherever the insurrectionary spirit showed itself, that politics were mixed up with the other reasons of complaint, and the cry of the mob was, a change of Government and

cheap bread. It is needless to dissemble that the populace are but too well acquainted with the nature of the case—that they hold responsible his Majesty's Ministers as the primary cause of their sufferings; and that among a great proportion of them, there can exist no heartfelt attachment to the government of the country, while the painful conviction exists, that the price of bread *is* unnecessarily and unfeelingly kept up by prohibitory laws.

Were the numerous classes of the community then to gain no more by the alteration of the law than a greater degree of contentment with their condition, and an impression, whether real or imaginary, that they were relieved from a most odious oppression, the experiment would be worth trying, and there is every reason to believe that this, as well as other important ends, would be gained. We have also been taught by experience, that the operation of these laws has frequently been conducted upon false principles; that speculators in grain have seen it to be their interest, to sink or to raise the average price above or below what it actually should be; and thus have the exigencies of the people been but too often trifled with, and cruelly aggravated by selfish and designing men.

It might be possible even to do more than to

tranquillize and to reconcile the people. Some more substantial advantage might be obtained for them by the proposed alteration. The prices of grain upon the whole might be reduced to a lower level, and thereby rendered less burdensome to the great body of the consumers. Or they might be kept more at a level, less subject to fluctuation—a frequent source of inconveniency and abuse.

But how is such an alteration to be effected? What is the nature of that change which would secure some solid benefit to the consumer, and at the same time give the necessary protection to the agriculturist? Here a formidable difficulty presents itself. Two separate interests are, as it were, the claimants, each pleading its own relative merit and importance. That the agricultural is the more useful and most deserving of encouragement, must be obvious to the most common understanding. Food being the first necessary of life, the profession, the skill, and industry, by which not only *that*, but the greatest quantity of *that*, is brought from the soil, ought to be held in the highest estimation.

The farmer is the person, then, upon whom we depend, as it were, for the supply of our daily wants. It is to his activity and judgment that we are indebted for our provision; and without

such, and other requisite qualities, the profession would be of no esteem, and but of little avail. The cultivators of the soil therefore must be kept in view in all legislative enactments. They must have sufficient encouragement to exercise their physical and moral powers, and to bring every thing into action that can contribute to their own, or the general good. But is that encouragement to consist in nothing short of prohibitory statutes, by which they are constituted complete monopolists of the first necessaries of life? There is a chance that this strong artificial impulse may yet defeat its object, by relaxing exertion, by the misapplication of time and money to amusement and luxury. There must always be a constant, steady, and, I may say, an increasing demand for human food within the limits of the British empire. The farmer does not, like the manufacturer, depend for sales on the continental demand, on that flux and reflux to which *his* trade is so liable, and which are so often productive of the most calamitous reverses. No: His produce must always be in request, and must bring a fair average price. But to prevent his snug home-trade from being disturbed, or thrown out of its natural channel by any foreign interference, he insists on the non-importation of foreign grain, except when it shall not mate-

rially affect his own private interest. *But*, after throwing other branches of trade open to foreigners; after removing protection from the manufacturing interest, in compliance with his particular desire, is he to expect that the prohibitory tax on corn is still to be continued, and that the consumer is the only person who is to be abandoned to his fate, or left to the mercy of a foreign market? This would be the greatest injustice; sacrificing to *one*, the other *two-thirds* of the population; trampling upon the latter, that the former might be preserved in ease and affluence.

As the trade of the manufacturer is begun to be laid open, which prepares the way for the competition of foreign goods, and consequently for the reduction of prices, let the corn trade also be in some measure relieved, that so the liberal system may be followed out in consistency with avowed principles and resolutions, and for contributing eventually to the general good.

But how is this latter purpose to be served by a free trade in corn, by having the ports open for the importation of foreign grain? *Such*, under proper regulations, would at least be consistent with the outset, and a proof that our Statesmen had not taken up the project rashly, but as a matter of the most mature deliberation.

That great political economist, from whom the new system emanated, seems to have entered fully into the policy as well as equity of the measure; and, though diverted for a little, on account of unforeseen events, from the prosecution of his purpose, he has declared it to be his resolution, whether in office or out of office, to do his utmost for carrying that measure into effect. And it may be inferred from some of his guarded but well expressed thoughts, that his great object is, not so much to bring the price of grain to a lower level, as to render it more steady, and of course the supply of corn less subject to fluctuation. I cannot do better than quote his own words, in his reply to Mr. Whitmore, who made the motion for an immediate inquiry: "I think a speedy revision of "the Corn Laws necessary, to prevent the evils "described by my honourable friend: and I see "no guarantee so probably effective against the "recurrence of such evils, as the establishment "of a free trade in corn, subject to a proper "protecting duty. I say the Corn Laws ought "to proceed upon this principle, to correct as "far as possible the inequality of the seasons, "and to support the agriculture of the country; "and it is with reference to these two principles, "that I shall feel it to be my duty, in what-"ever situation I may be placed, to support any

" measure which may be introduced, and which, " in my opinion, would most effectually secure " those objects."

There are two objects here, which it is of the utmost consequence to keep in view, the good of the country in general, and the protection of agriculture in particular. The former is evidently implied in one of the principles on which the proposed change is to be effected, viz. the correcting as far as possible the inequality of the seasons. For, by this, the right honourable gentleman must be understood to mean, that any great vicissitude in the price of grain shall be carefully guarded against, that, with the least possible encouragement to speculation and gambling, the trade shall be placed on such a footing as will secure an adequate and uniform degree of supply, and that for the good of all concerned. By thus having a more steady market, the farmer could calculate more exactly on the value of his returns, and the consumer would be relieved from that harassing uncertainty which artificial means, as well as precarious seasons, are apt to produce. It is to be understood also, that, by an arrangement of this kind, there is not only to be interposed a check against any considerable fluctuation in the price, but that the price itself is to be better adapted to the exigencies of the people. This seeming depression

can alarm only at first sight;—for a narrower inspection will convince the farmer, that he takes his land at the rate of farm produce; and the proprietor, that his burdens will be lightened by a comparative fall in the price of provisions. The former always, or generally, pays in proportion; and the latter would have his establishment kept up on easier terms.

Exclusive of that equiponderancy in the price of food and labour, the protecting duties necessarily to be imposed, would also increase the revenue, and thus enable Government to extend still farther relief to the landed interest, by diminishing or removing some of the public burdens, such as the assessment on windows, an oppressive, although a productive tax. Thus would the landlord be in some measure compensated for the loss he might sustain by a small reduction of rent, the tenant be placed on a surer footing, and the great body of the people eat their bread with more tranquillity and comfort. As the landed proprietors occupy such a distinguished place in society, and have so many of the public burdens resting upon them, nothing must be done rashly or inconsiderately that has a tendency to affect their income, or to sink them lower in the scale. No: The aristocracy must be kept up. The rights of

that order must be respected, especially when they involve claims of the deepest importance, not only to themselves, but to the community at large. And were such a change to be effected as would materially diminish their rental, and remove all excitement to agricultural exertion, the consequences would soon be felt and deplored. Never was there a time when greater or more skilful efforts were made towards the improvement of the soil. Every experiment is tried. Every mean is used to convert the barren waste into a fruitful field. And were discouraging, depressing obstacles now to be interposed, that spirit would soon evanish, and our smiling fields would soon retrograde to their original wildness and sterility. But no such change is contemplated. And whatever may be the precise nature of the intended alteration, we may rest satisfied that it will be for the better, for the general good, and of such a description as will meet with the approbation of the intelligent of all ranks.

There is a groundless, or at least a pretended fear, that the agricultural interest will be materially injured; that capital, thus rendered unproductive, will be withdrawn, and that the produce of the soil will still become more inadequate to the supply of our wants. This doctrine, alarmists have been ringing in our ears

for many years, and yet we appear as far, if not farther, from the unfortunate crisis, as at any former period of our existence. And there is no reason to fear that such a crisis will be accelerated by any revision or change to which the corn laws may soon be subjected. It is now time that this bugbear were stripped of its imaginary terrors, and that, at this advanced stage of liberal enlightened policy, we should confide in the wisdom of our Rulers, for, at least, the not inflicting on us those evils with which we have been so often threatened, and terrified even into passiveness and inaction.

What do the alarmists really and truly apprehend? Is it that the ports are to be thrown open without proper limitations; and that our country is to be inundated with foreign grain to the great detriment of the consumer, as well as of those who have a deeper interest in the value of agricultural produce? No: They cannot be so blinded by prejudice and self-interest as to imagine any such thing. They may indeed allow their fears to get the better of their reason; and their aversion to a change, so apparently inauspicious, may render it difficult for them to give the subject a patient and candid investigation.

But let us state a case to them far short of this, neither of so formidable an aspect, nor of

so mischievous a nature, and see in what light they will view it; so that we may be able to ascertain whether they are determined at all events to resist any innovation on that score; or whether their better feelings are not still in sufficient force, and their minds not open to conviction. Let us suppose that the ports are to be thrown open, and that foreign grain is to be imported at all times, with this express proviso, that a countervailing duty to the extent of the advantages of other countries, should be imposed as a protection to the agriculturist in this country; and that this duty is to rise or fall in a certain given ratio, according as the prices of grain are higher or lower, and consequently as the article is in greater or less request. This seems to be a fair case, as it places the produce of the soil of *this*, on a fair footing with the produce of the soil of *other* countries. And, of course, as the competitors are to be so equally matched, the greatest possible excitement will be given to skill and industry, as the only means by which the superiority is to be obtained. This is the situation in which the Manufacturer is placed, and why should the Agriculturist not be placed on a similar footing? Then would the bond of amity be strengthened, and the advantages be reciprocal, and the balance more fairly adjusted; and all parties would have rea-

son to respect that integrity and wisdom with which their interests are conducted. As the high prices of grain will always depend in a great measure upon its scarcity, it would be unreasonable to levy the same extreme duty upon imported corn, when it is scarce and high priced at home. The consumer might thereby be reduced to greater straits, and even have to struggle for a time perhaps with all the miseries of famine. There must be a graduated scale in the rate of duty, corresponding with the rate of price, beginning with the highest duty at the lowest price, and diminishing it proportionally as the prices rise, till they shall reach a point when no impost, except perhaps a trifle, shall be exacted. In a word, to give to the new regulation all the beneficial effect that is intended, the duty on foreign grain must move upwards or downwards in the inverse ratio of its value at the time; and although a season of scarcity might throw a great deal of our money into the hands of foreigners, yet that season quickly passes away, and our wants are as speedily relieved. In ordinary times, upon our assumed hypothesis, foreign grain would come into our markets more sparingly. It would come in more as an article of trade than of necessity. Great part of the value would be taken in goods of British manufacture, which would improve

the circumstances of the Manufacturer, and enable him to live better; thus increasing his demand upon the farmer for the produce of his fields; and thus would the commercial intercourse be enlarged, and the general good greatly promoted.

We must be aware that the epithets, high or low, when applied to the price of grain, must be taken in a relative sense—"relative, as well "to the returns of corn as to the state of the country." What may be a moderate price at one time, may be immoderate at another. The present price, for instance, is comparatively higher, in consequence of the existing state of the country, than were the nominally higher prices of last year. The consumer is now unable to give a price which would then have been considered as no hardship. Such a state of things may sometimes occur, although not to such an extent as to require a legislative interposition. But when such a crisis shall occur as the present; when the Manufacturer, from the low rate of wages and the want of employment, owing to a glut in the foreign market, the consequence of boundless speculation, shall be utterly unable to purchase bread at what we would call a fair average price, then some special remedy is to be devised. The duty apportioned to that nominally low, although virtually high

price, must be subjected to a temporary reduction, and fitted to the exigency of the moment, to prevent the public calamity from becoming insupportable. This remedy must be committed to skilful hands, and to a supreme authority. And where can such a combination be so paramount as with the King in council: that august body, to whom is at present intrusted a discretionary but defined power of a similar description? Let the executive government then be empowered to step forward when such an emergency shall occur, and to graduate the duty according to the necessities of the case. Such an interference with the general operation of the new system, must always, from the high and opposing interests which are involved in it, be attended with great responsibility, and of course it must require great delicacy and care to time it properly, and to manage it to the best effect. But were it to be as indispensable at any juncture, as is the present temporary modification of the old law, let some provision be made for that purpose. Let the delegated power be embodied in the act, so that it could operate freely and promptly, without waiting for a parliamentary sanction, which might consume much time, and greatly aggravate the distress. The call of necessity must be heard; and were the cry for bread to be raised once only in half a century, it

would certainly be an act of wisdom and humanity in the legislature to anticipate such a crisis, and to provide a remedy, which, in the evil day, could be speedily and efficaciously applied.

There would still be an inducement for speculators to gamble, in fitting and preparing the prices for the *ad valorem* duty, but not to the same extent as in the present state of things, when the opening and shutting of the ports depend on the nicest adjustment, and when hope and fear are strongly excited by the conflicting interests. There is more at stake in the one case than in the other. The opening of the ports, for instance, only at intervening periods, and the introduction of foreign grain at a mere nominal duty, must be decisive of more important effects than when the rate of duty undergoes a slight variation only, which cannot affect the quantum imported in any considerable degree, and consequently cannot be productive of much undue influence on the monthly or weekly returns of prices, by which the rate of duty is regulated.

But small as the temptation would be, under the proposed amendment, to employ means for bringing about false returns, every precaution should be taken to ensure fair and honest statements, as far as circumstances will permit.

In Scotland, the Fiars, or average prices, are

regularly struck by the Sheriff of the County, or his Substitute, a respectable Lawyer and Judge, who has the assistance of a Jury, composed of fifteen respectable men, in every way well qualified to come to a proper judgment on the subject before them. This is now a necessary part of his duty, which he is called upon to discharge at stated periods for the good of all concerned. The Jury, a proportion of whom ought to be Landholders, are upon oath, and they have the power of examining witnesses from various parts of the county upon oath, and of thus arriving at such a knowledge of facts, as enables them to strike the medium, and to do it with much fairness and intelligence. I know not what officer in England has the charge of this local department, or in what way the Jury is constituted, and through what channels their information is derived. But as there is no law-officer corresponding to our Sheriff-Depute, and armed with the same executive authority, some necessary requisite may be awanting towards the attainment of the object with the same facility and certainty as with us. Would not the district Coroner, who, I believe, is a gentleman of the law, and possessed of magisterial power, be a fit person for presiding in this business? Accustomed to cite and to examine evidence; to empannel and address juries, he

might not only have a superior tact in conducting the inquest, but be able to furnish the means of more certainly and directly arriving at the truth. And it is of importance that the fairest returns should be made; that the average prices, being so important a test, should be brought as near to the fact as possible; and that, for this purpose, the plan should be employed which is the most likely to answer the end.

A new corn bill, then, upon the principle of a free trade, and under proper regulations, certainly does not now appear that formidable thing which it may have done at first sight. It is one of those topics which have not a very inviting exterior to catch the superficial observer; but when once seen into, and thoroughly examined, it will soon recommend itself, by substantial and powerful appeals to our understandings and best feelings. It is founded upon just and equitable principles, which operate alike for the good of all parties. It is the consecutive part of a system already begun, and it will lead to a consummation, fraught with many blessings of a temporal and of a moral nature to the great body of the people. It is surely needless to revert to the idea, that the great object of this bill is not to lower the price of grain, although that may be to a trifling extent, but

to give more steadiness to the prices, to prevent them from being subject to that extreme fluctuation, which has hitherto been alike injurious to the grower and to the consumer. How far this end may be forwarded, by applying the stimulus of an open market, or a market at all times accessible to foreign corn, to the Polish agriculturist; or what effect such a stimulus would have on the state of cultivation in general, in the provinces communicating with the Baltic sea by the Vistula, it is no easy matter to determine. That able statistical inquirer, Mr. Jacob, who was commissioned by his Majesty's Government to visit the provinces, and to examine into these probabilities upon the very spot, confessed, that any conclusions he might arrive at, "must be liable to be affected by changes, which "cannot now be contemplated or taken into cal-"culation." The effect of the stimulus here proposed, he observes, must depend in a great measure on the assurance of its duration. The market for wheat, which England presents, is the great object of attention to the cultivators in Poland, and to the merchants at the ports from whence its corn must be exported. But the uncertainty arising from the frequent alterations of our laws, relative to the corn trade, has been the cause of heavy losses to them, and would therefore have the effect of causing the culti-

vators to pause before they made any great changes in the rotation of crops, or in the kinds of corn they would sow. And do we require such a degree of steadiness in this branch of our domestic policy, to prevail upon the foreign farmer to raise a surplus stock of grain for the supply of our wants? Our mutability in that department of trade may, no doubt, affect his agricultural proceedings, by directing his views to other sources of remuneration. But if we had more steadiness in our markets, more stability in our current prices, it would be of the utmost importance to all parties, both foreign and domestic; and as long as there was a moderate successive demand in Great Britain for grain at a fair reasonable price, there is little reason to apprehend, that such a demand would not be duly respected, and that adequate resources would not be provided. But how convincing and gratifying must it be to our farmer to learn, from the same comprehensive observer, that the soil of exporting countries must be brought at least to an impoverished, unproductive state, unless by a judicious exchange of articles, some compensation shall be made for the injury it may have sustained; and that, "perhaps one of the chief causes "of the progress we have made in agriculture, "and of the superior productiveness of our "fields, has arisen from our exporting but few,

"and importing many of those articles which "are capable, when decomposed, of becoming "manure, and of being applied to renovate the "soil, as much or more, as it is exhausted by "cropping." The first part of the proposition is verified by facts which have already occurred, by the progressive barrenness of those now sterile regions both in Asia and Africa, which were long considered as the granaries of the Roman empire. The second part is illustrated by practical observation, by our knowledge of the necessity that the soil must have its exhausted strength repaired; and that a constant waste of its vegetative powers, without the necessary restoratives, must finally terminate in exhaustion. What is our agriculturist then afraid of? The imported corn is the food of man and of beast. It feeds a growing population, and enables him to keep a greater quantity of live stock, and thus to go on in a course of improvement, till even our numerous extensive wastes shall be cultivated, and our own resources be equal to the supply of all our wants. The more manure he can lay upon his fields, so much the better both for himself and for the public. He would not surely deem it inimical to his interests that foreign dung should be imported; yea, were such a trade to be allowed, he would be the first to embark in it. He would scour the Vistula,

the Elbe, and the Seine, to procure the precious article, to enrich his fields, and to increase his wealth. What is corn, but manure in an early stage, and the sure means of multiplying that powerful agricultural aid? The more of such means that he is possessed of, whether personally, or through the medium of the public, he will be the better fitted for carrying into effect his progressive improvements, and thus advancing the great object of his professional pursuits.

It is perhaps a matter of regret, that the agriculture of Great Britain is in so few hands; that so small a proportion of our increasing population is necessarily employed in and supported by the labour of the fields. Some political economists indeed are of opinion, that it is the greatest benefit to the State, when the larger quantity of agricultural produce is raised by the labour of the smaller number of hands; that the enormous quantity of surplus food thereby created would be most profitably employed in supporting that immense number of consumers that are engaged in the business of manufacture. Such a consumpt as two-thirds of our population would occasion, and that is nearly the proportion unconnected with agriculture, must be viewed as one of the main pillars on which the improvements and wealth of a nation are to de-

pend. *True:* And were that demand upon the grower to be steady and progressive, to him the consequences would be inestimable, and the national resources be carried to their utmost extent.

But the reverse is too often the case. We may see the manufacturers or consumers (I use the terms synonymously), at one time in the season of prosperity, living well, using a great deal of agricultural produce, and raising its price and that of land itself to an immoderate height; at another, when trade is dull, according to the cant phrase, scarcely able to purchase the necessaries of life, and thus leaving the farmer to struggle with high rents and bad times, the inevitable effect of that instability so inseparable from the manufacturing interest. When we consider how many incidents this interest is subjected to, arising from the pride, the ambition, the jealousy, and the folly of man, we need not be surprised to find it so often the plaything, the sport of cabinets, or of arbitrary power.

As such is, I may say, the necessary state of things, and in which no amelioration is likely to take place, so long as human governments are conducted by the usual principles of human nature, might it not be an object with those who have it in their power, to lessen that calamitous result, by abridging the higher number,

and increasing the other, by multiplying to a considerable amount the diminished proportion of our peasantry and small farmers, and thus mitigating the extremes of excitement and inaction to which we are frequently exposed, from the sudden unavoidable vicissitudes of such a ponderous mass, as two-thirds of the population of Great Britain? Were the agricultural population to be more thickly spread over the country, the recoil from the manufacturing body, in its sudden agitations, would be less sensibly felt, as its weight would be much reduced, and our growing numbers would find a more steady provision in the cultivation of the soil, and a better school for virtue and patriotism, in the grateful labours of the field, than in the crowded haunts of vice, disappointment, and want. To such rural seminaries are we to look for that health and contentment, that firmness, simplicity, and integrity of mind, on which we can safely rely in trying and perilous times.

The evil we complain of, in the abstract, exists at present to a considerable degree, and presents a most appalling and alarming aspect. Immense numbers, plunged into distress by some sudden unforeseen cause, by a glut in the foreign market, or some slight political affection, are now thrown upon the mercy of the public, which is also drinking deep in the

common calamity. Many noble instances of generosity are exhibited. Our illustrious and beloved Sovereign stands highly distinguished in the exercise of this amiable affection; and his Government is exerting itself to second his feelings, and to procure the means of relief. It was a matter of regret to see some of our greatest Landholders in both houses of Parlialiament showing such hostility to the measure. Are thousands of our fellow-creatures in want of bread? If they are not, as some of these gentlemen would insinuate, then there is no credit to be given to human testimony, and our own experience of facts must go for nothing. But in the very worst events, they suggest the safer expedient of private subscription; any thing rather than an interference with the corn laws, which they wish to be understood as sacred and inviolable. This anxiety, and in such a quarter, savours too much of a worldly spirit, and proves too clearly the invidious principles on which the existing bill is supported. Were the opening of the ports at present to give but a temporary relief; were it to lower the prices only for a little; would not the purposes of humanity thereby be served? Would not the charitable contributions be enabled to go farther, to purchase a greater quantity of food, and to rejoice the hearts of many who are suffering in

silence and in solitude? Is our corn law to be irrevocable as the edicts of a Persian king? one of which doomed an ancient people to destruction; while another was necessary—in order to save them—to arm that people in their own defence, and to excite them to avenge their cause upon the heads of their enemies? "For "the writing which was written in the King's "name, might no man reverse"? Or is it more inviolable than the very laws of nature? Even these were suspended in the cause of mercy and humanity; and, independent of every consideration of good policy or common feeling, christian love should incline us to remove every obstacle, especially of a selfish kind, that can impede the effects of our beneficence, or withhold bread from the hungry. "For," said a great teacher, "it is more blessed to give than to receive." But, a truce to preaching. There is a time for every thing, and so there is for altering and reforming laws as well as for enacting them. Statutes, whether moral or political, must be accommodated to the condition of the mind, which seldom remains stationary, to occasional exigencies which cannot be foreseen, to new and unexpected changes in the very frame of civil society.

But, in suggesting the propriety of increasing our peasant population, and of giving a less for-

midable power of re-action to the other more numerous classes, I am not to be understood as pleading exclusively for the occupation of land in small farms, or for the establishment of a general unmixed order of peasantry. No: I would prefer a gradation in the agricultural scale, rising from the cottager, who has his few acres and his cow, through all the intermediate stages, to the educated and experienced capitalist, who can exhibit here and there to his humbler but useful colleagues, the best specimens of the art in all its branches. This I take to be the best model of the agricultural structure, where all the parts would be in proportion, in their relative dimensions, and in subserviency to the strength and utility of the whole. If we had not the gentleman farmer, we would be at a loss for his example, for great practical results, and for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge. If we wanted our peasantry, we would want our best operative hands, and the produce of their economy and toil. In a word, the price of labour would become too high, and the whole state of things would be materially affected.

But give to me, says the farmer, plenty of land, and I will procure labourers, and supply them with meat and wages. So he may, as long as our population continues to increase.

But after his schemes had begun to bear, and to have full effect, this increase would cease, and the scarcity of labourers would soon be felt. Would a dozen of men and women servants, fed by meal from his girnel, and by the milk, perhaps, of two cows, present any rational encouragement for entering into the matrimonial state? How were they and their families to be supported? What prospect could they reasonably entertain of ever being able to provide for their offspring, or of bettering their situation, and of rising a little higher in the scale of society? Without any land, without a cow, without that aliment which is necessary to the comfort, and even to the subsistence of a rural population; without a chance of ever rising above that humble, dependant sphere, in which they were originally placed, every emulous feeling would be borne down. Even the voice of nature would be suppressed, and our numbers would fade away like the stream from the exhausted fountain. Such would be the inevitable tendency of a plan too prevalent in some places, of adding field to field, and of thus encouraging occupancy only to a great extent. Although the evil might in the long-run point to its own remedy, yet much pain might be inflicted in the meantime, and the disease might be too far gone to admit of a complete cure.

Intelligent landholders, who are accustomed to look beyond the mere surface of things, are well aware of this fact, and they have shown a sense of their conviction, by reducing the number of their great farms, and increasing their tenantry. I could point out individuals who have been actuated in this respect by principles of the purest patriotism, and whose names deserve to be recorded. But a fear of offending prevents me from giving that public testimony to which they are so justly entitled. Even superficial observers may see their interest in following this example. Independent of that gratifying appearance of strength and prosperity which a numerous and thriving peasantry must present to the landlord; and what weighs more with him, perhaps, his income is not thereby diminished; yea, it has every chance of being increased, at least of ultimately amounting to more than if his lands had been wholly laid out into extensive farms; there are more competitors for a small, than for a large farm. It suits the circumstances of the greater number; and it seldom happens that its possessor is unable to fulfil his contract. It is on the larger scale that the bankruptcies generally occur. Spurred on by ambition, and his too easily acquired credit, the vain speculatist is sometimes tempted to go beyond his depth, and to involve

himself and others in misfortune. There is a certain measure of extent beyond which the farmer's profits must proportionally diminish, or be in the inverse ratio to the overgrown size of his agricultural concerns. This is particularly the case in certain local situations, and in almost every situation, where the advantages of a steady and ready market, so peculiar to the vicinity of great towns, are not within his reach. So much expense is incurred in raising the produce that may be most saleable, and in conveying it to market; and the returns are often so slow and uncertain, that any accumulation of debt which it may have been necessary for him to contract, must press with additional weight till he is at last completely borne down, and reduced to the necessity of relaxing in his system of operations, and wringing from the soil the last remains of its exhausted strength.

The landlord, then, who looks only to his own interest, should be careful not to put his property in the way of being deteriorated by vain projectors, and of falling a wreck into his own hands; and also to avoid being at the mercy of the few, who would make a monopoly of agriculture, and compel him to give his land at their own terms.

But, says the farmer, let me have land enough, and I shall become bound to raise more

food than if the same extent had been subdivided into smaller lots, and thus afford a greater surplus stock of provisions to our increasing population. I doubt his ability, however, to perform his promise. In some instances, indeed, the thing is practicable;—where capital, and skill, and strict attention, are combined, and where the peasantry are still fettered by old prejudices, or discouraged by oppression and poverty. But where the small tenants are more enlightened and encouraged, where they superintend the whole detail of operations, even to the minutest parts which they are capable of doing; where they put their hand to the plough, and know how to execute as well as to plan, and to execute with the strictest economy; where such are to be found, and where such circumstances exist, it is highly probable that the fields will be as well cultivated, and as productive in the one case as in the other. But supposing that the balance as to free produce were in favour of the extensive cultivator, and the practice on that account to become general, still it would only be increasing the evil to which we are now and then subjected, by adding to the number of the consumers, and thereby giving a more painful effect to such unpropitious times as we are now visited with; and which may recur with redoubled force at no very distant

period, and when we are less prepared to sustain the shock.

Whether, then, self interest or patriotism be chiefly consulted, the landlord must feel disposed to give a preference to that state of agricultural population which combines in it all the advantages of skill, capital, frugality, and useful labour; which, on the one hand, can present us with the opulent theorist, who can afford to make his experiments on a great scale, and exhibit a striking example of the most perfect style of rural economy; and, on the other, with the busy haunts of a frugal peasantry, ambitious to excel, to rise to wealth, and to a higher point in the scale of society.

While I sincerely deplore the existing evils which press so heavy upon our land, I would fain anticipate the approaching relief, and a speedy restoration to that prosperity and opulence which our manufacturers have enjoyed in their best times. *And*, as we will now be called upon to enter the lists with foreigners more single-handed, every thing should be done to bring us upon a greater footing of equality, by alleviating the public burdens, and lessening the price of labour. It is by arriving, and without delay, at a certain pitch in the great scheme of reduction, that we can hope to compete successfully with our neighbours on the continent, or

have any reasonable profit from our sales in a foreign market. Even the strength of capital, the perfection of machinery, and the subdivision of labour, will not always be sufficient to give us the superiority. In *these*, our rivals will always be making considerable progress, as experience teaches us; while the public burdens will, without great wisdom and management, still hang as a dead weight about our necks, and, comparatively speaking, render us stationary, and unable, at no very remote period, to maintain the unequal struggle.

While I am conscious of the necessity there is for economy and relief from the pressure of taxes, I am also convinced that there never was a time when the Ministers of our country were better qualified, or more heartily disposed to carry this important measure into effect. With the first talents are combined, a frankness, a candour, an honesty, which has justly gained them the confidence of their political adversaries, and the admiration and esteem of all disinterested men. From that Nobleman who is at the head of the Cabinet, and who is no less illustrious in private than in public life, through all the subordinate departments, there seems to be but one powerful mind strenuously exerted for the public good, for the safety, the honour, and glory of the British Empire. Such a minis-

try have no occasion to waste the national resources in propping their power by the increase of patronage, or by unmerited favours of any kind. No: They are too firmly seated in the affections of the people, to require the aid of such hollow expedients; and they are too magnanimous ever to think of employing them. When confidence is gone, and the public mind is completely alienated, then the decayed strength must be recruited in some way or other, till it at last sink neglected and unpitied. But a vigorous and an upright government, that deserves so well of the people, that has such a hold of their understandings and their hearts, must rule under a feeling of conscious worth, under the influence of that high, honourable principle, to which it owes its present exalted character, and a name that will be memorable in the annals of history.

Before concluding my remarks, may I be permitted to recommend the object of a Bill, now, I may say, before the Legislature, or at least in the view of his Majesty's Ministers, and of the gentlemen of the landed interest, and which will be early brought before the new parliament: namely, a Bill for making better provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters of Scotland.

To those who are well acquainted with the

nature of the case, no measure can present itself of greater national importance, or as containing deeper moral interest than that which is here alluded to. If knowledge constitutes power, and exalts the national character; and if the seminaries where that knowledge is acquired stand in need of additional support, is it not a duty to the public to extend that aid, and thus to promote the public advantage? Taking it for granted that our school establishment has been a great national blessing, the inference is obvious, that this establishment should not be reduced to a degraded, inefficient state, from want of proper care and attention. And perhaps there could not be a better chosen time than the present, for stretching out to it a kind and helping hand. It would look like presumption to say that this was nearly about the crisis of its fate. But it will not be saying too much when we affirm, that such a state of things cannot continue long, that young men who have spent their days in the pursuits of literature, will not much longer consider the office of a schoolmaster, in its present state, as an adequate compensation. They will either find out some other openings for merit, some other road to reward or distinction; or they will give up the preparatory course once so ardently and so successfully pursued, to be trodden by drivellers and

smatterers, whose acquirements will be in proportion to the scantiness of the recompense.

This is the fit time then for stepping forward to administer the necessary relief, to ensure the continuance of such an acquisition as we now possess—well educated and respectable teachers.

Since the passing of the last act, the Parochial Schools have been in a progressive state of improvement, both as to the numbers and proficiency of the scholars, and the talents and zeal of the masters. At this moment, there is a passion for elementary knowledge, and a capacity of gratifying it, which have existed to the same extent at no former period. We may, in a great measure, ascribe the more numerous attendance in our schools, and altogether the superior proficiency of the scholars, to the superior endowments and respectability of the teachers, many of whom are young men of great acquirements, and who would make a figure in the higher walks of literature. Such men, devoting their time and their talents, the very flower of their days, to the education of our youth, and in circumstances so narrow and depressing, are no longer to be treated with neglect. A little time lost, and the crisis may arrive, and our parochial establishment begin to retrograde to that mean level from which it had emerged not many years back. Let the necessary excitement

be timeously applied. Raise these useful men a little higher in society; give them encouragement; show that you are not insensible to their merits, and to their official importance; reward them as they deserve; and you will even heighten the lustre which now distinguishes our parochial seminaries, and erect a lasting monument to the discernment, the liberality, and patriotism of the present age.

But I must now take leave of my reader, by requesting that he would consider this obtrusion on the public, not as a proof of vanity, but as dictated by honest feelings, and submitted with all due deference to his better judgment in those matters which have been briefly alluded to in the progress of this little work. If any mistake has been committed, as to the statement of opinions or facts, it certainly was unintentional. And if attachment to men or measures have been warmly expressed, it is the expression of the heart, and of a deep conviction of the truth.

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